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URBAN ORGANIZATION OF PROTESTANTISM

WILBUR C. HALLENBECK

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Urban Organization of Protestantism

By

WILBUR C. HALLENBECK

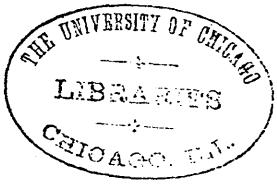
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PREFACE

The study of denominational city church extension agencies presented in this report marks the culmination of a long series of studies of the urban church conducted by the Institute of Social and Religious Research. It is the culmination not only in the sense that it is the last study in this series, but also because it is the study of those organizations of the denominations in the major cities which previous studies have discovered to be of the utmost importance. These city societies, as they are generally called, are more than any other organized effort of Protestantism responsible for what is accomplished by the churches in the American cities.

Work on the study started in April, 1932. After a month given to the preparation of plans and schedules the field work began in Boston and continued until September, 1933. The period from then until May, 1934, was taken up by the preparation of the report.

This project consisted in a series of case studies. An extensive outline was prepared covering a detailed explanation under five general headings: (1) Definitions, (2) Organization and Procedure, (3) Activities, (4) Relationships, and (5) Accomplishments. The outline contained questions covering the important points and schedules for the recording of statistical data. The outline was followed in the study of each society in order that all points might be covered and the data gathered in comparable form.

The author of this report spent an average of two weeks in the offices of the societies studied, where he genuinely became a participant observer. On account of former contacts and acquaintances with many of the executives he was taken into the daily processes. In many cases directors'

meetings, committee meetings, and staff conferences were attended. Many hours were spent in conference with the executives. Interviews were informal, but gradually the information covered by the prepared outline was built up.

A thorough historical analysis of each society was made in order to provide an understanding of the beginnings and the evolutions in both thought and form of each society. This included a thorough definition of the epochs in the development of this type of organization. Original records were studied, available official documents were read, and many supplementary conversations were carried on.

A statistical analysis included the inventory of activities, the classifications of aided projects and the financial history of aid to projects assisted within the last fifteen years, the service to churches, staff personnel and volunteer committee personnel, and finances including income and expenditures, capital accounts, church building aid, and the total expenditures of the local churches of the denomination.

Finally, executives were asked to provide written statements covering their apologetics for the societies and their conception of the objectives, both immediate and ultimate. These became the basic data for the consideration of the philosophy of the denominational city societies.

The author is greatly indebted to many people whose assistance has made a large contribution to this report. First of all, without the gracious and patient help of the executives and their office secretaries the study would not have been possible. Mr. Trevor Bowen, Controller of the Institute, gave valuable assistance in the financial analysis of the societies in Boston and in Chicago.

Through the planning of the study and the preparation of the report the counsel of Dr. H. Paul Douglass, director and supervisor of the studies in the field of the city church, was always available. The author's former colleague, Ross W. Sanderson, to whose book, *The Strategy of City Church Planning,* this report is in many respects a companion volume, also gave much helpful counsel.

Many helpful suggestions and kindly criticisms were made by Professors Edmund deS. Brunner, Edward H. Reisner, F. Ernest Johnson, and David Snedden, of Teachers College, Columbia University.

Professor Edwin Forrest Hallenbeck, of San Francisco Theological Seminary, gave much editorial assistance.

Miss Rhoda B. Lawrence acted as secretary, stenographer, clerical worker, and statistician during the preparation of the report. Her sympathetic and expeditious assistance contributed much. For this the author is profoundly grateful.

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Part One

Factual Material

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

A few years ago one of the wealthy churchmen of this country left in his will approximately $4,000,000 as a trust fund, the income from which was to go to the society of his denomination in the city in which he resided. He believed that the most adequate service of the church to the city would be carried out by such societies.

Many thoughtful people interested in the church share this opinion because they realize the difficulties of the church in meeting the needs of complicated urban life, and they have seen intelligent efforts toward an adequate churching of the city undertaken by the city societies. Such efforts are being made by the stronger denominations in the larger cities by means of the organizations popularly known as denominational city societies. These denominational city church extension agencies are the subjects of this study.

These societies are indigenous to the city. They are aggressive agencies of the church organized by denominational units. Here is denominationalism as it expresses itself in urban life. The study of the denominational city societies reveals the major phenomena of urban denominationalism.

What Is a City Society?

A city society is the organization of the churches or constituency of a denomination in a city, or in a city and its environs, for the purpose of extending and strengthening the ministry of the denomination to the area primarily in the direction of the missionary work.

While this answer to the question, "what is a city soci-

ety?", serves as a general designation, it obviously does not define these societies closely enough to indicate those organizations which have become significant and effective. Setting standards has long been a problem. Even in the light of the present study it is not possible to set up any standards that would be inclusive and at the same time exclusive enough to determine which societies would be included in a first-class group.

Some arbitrary standards have been set up by the Baptist and Presbyterian denominations as a sort of working basis for the recognition of societies. These standards deal with the size of the city, the size of the denominational constituency, the amount of the annual budget, and the requirement of full-time paid executive leadership. The situation is analogous to that of the colleges before there was a college board to accredit them. Not all schools that called themselves colleges were colleges. Having nothing corresponding to a college board the situation still exists in which all city societies that have taken the name are not necessarily to be recognized as city societies.

Many circumstances have prevented the two denominations named from adhering strictly to their standards, and a number of societies are recognized which are not technically "standard." However, by a rough application of these standards, between fifty and sixty denominational city societies in the United States would rate as first-class.

In addition there are many others. Some are on the border line; others, in smaller cities, are efficiently organized, but are not large enough affairs to be considered in the first rank; still more are volunteer undertakings, very limited in their outlook and activity. There are perhaps between seventy-five and one hundred societies other than those of the first class.

Where Are the City Societies?

The first-class societies are located in the larger cities of the North Atlantic, Middle West, and Far West. All but

three of the cities in the United States with 400,000 or more population have first-class city societies of at least one denomination, and two of them have five societies. Of the three cities, New Orleans with no societies is in the South where there is a single society in one city only; Baltimore has one struggling remnant of an unsuccessful experiment, and Milwaukee has two second-rate societies. The only significant organizations in a city of less than 400,000 population are the two in Rochester, New York, which is a uniquely civic-minded city.

Only eight denominations have any city societies. Three of these have only one first-class society each, the Disciples of Christ, United Presbyterian, and Presbyterian, U. S. The Congregational, Methodist Episcopal and Protestant Episcopal denominations have each a few first-class societies. This leaves the majority of the city societies about equally divided between the Baptist and Presbyterian denominations.

The Societies Studied

The field work on which this report is based included case studies of thirty-three societies. Most of these would be ranked as first-class, several were marginal cases, and some represented the smaller organizations.[1] The societies were located in eight cities: Boston (5 societies), Chicago (5), Cleveland (5), Detroit (5), Los Angeles (4), Pittsburgh (4), San Francisco (4), and Washington (1). They were of seven denominations: Baptist (8), Congregational (6), Disciples of Christ (2), Methodist Episcopal (7), Presbyterian (6), Protestant Episcopal (2), United Presbyterian (1), and Unitarian (1).

Why Study City Societies?

The denominational city societies are a distinctive contribution of the church in the American cities to urban Christianity. They are instruments of urban ecclesiastical

[1] Appendix Table I gives the list of societies studied.

organization which have been developed out of experience for use in carrying on the work of the church in the city. No studies of the urban church, then, would be complete without a consideration of these societies.

When, a dozen years ago, the Institute of Social and Religious Research began its exploration in the field of the city church it was soon discovered that from these societies developed contacts and a considerable amount of data. The study of representative city churches, demonstrating various phases of adaptation to city life, found many instances in which the city societies were related to these important projects. Again, in the study of organized Protestant coöperation it was found that the success or failure of interdenominational coöperation in the American cities depended largely on the city societies. When comity was studied it was discovered that the only effective agency for putting comity into practice was the city society. Finally, in the study of the underlying factors of city church planning the city societies were seen to be the organizations responsible for any development of a constructive strategy.[2]

From all approaches it has been very evident that the denominational city societies are the bottlenecks through which the development of the churching of the city must flow. They can either facilitate or hinder the flow. Having been directed from so many angles to this focal point in the organization of the city church it was a logical next step to make a specific study of these societies.

Adequate Churching of the City

The adequate churching of the city is no simple process, for it involves the approach to the economic, social, and cultural stratifications of city life, and it necessitates fitting the church to the temper and pace of that life. As a result

[2] Douglass, H. Paul, *St. Louis Church Survey*, 1924; *1000 City Churches*, 1926; *The Church in the Changing City*, 1927; *Protestant Coöperation in American Cities*, 1930; *Church Comity*, 1929. Hallenbeck, Wilbur C., *Minneapolis Churches and Their Comity Problems*, 1929. Sanderson, Ross W., *The Strategy of City Church Planning*, 1932.

of the series of studies by the Institute of Social and Religious Research already referred to, certain essential factors in the adequate churching of the city have been established. These are here stated in briefest outline.

ADAPTATION

The modern city exercises a tremendous environmental pressure upon its churches, and they have responded to this pressure by adding greatly to the number and variety of their activities in an effort to adapt themselves to the needs of their environment. While a great many urban churches remain merely rural, transplanted to or encompassed by the city, still the churches which are actually of the city manifest some degree and some kind of adaptation. Adaptation, in fact, is the key to the city churches. Three aspects of it are important.

There must be the *right kind of churches.* The complex life of the city is made up of many kinds of people, each kind calling for its own variety of churches. There are people with radically different and deep-rooted religious backgrounds. Psychological differences in human temperament call for different types of ministry by the church. There are differences in cultural background, in language, in social and economic circumstances. There are the downtown-minded people forming associations on the basis of common interest. The church must interpret its message to all types of people in the terms of their own experience.

There must be *enough churches,* not only enough in terms of variety but also in terms of quantity. The number of churches bears a relationship to the size of the population, but on a net basis considering Protestants and population movements on available population rather than on gross population. Too many churches will prevent adequate churching quite as much as too few. In fact, in most cities both conditions are to be found. This leads to the consideration of geography.

The church must be *in the right place.* While the majority of churches carry on their ministry on a neighborhood

basis, a large number, on account of the type of ministry developed, necessarily draw their constituents from large areas and must be available from the point of view of transportation. The location of churches includes the question of enough available population, the complementary character of denominations, the program of adaptation to various kinds of people, the relationships to centers and sub-centers in the city and the consequent clustering of churches.[3]

INSTITUTIONAL EFFICIENCY

No city can be regarded as adequately churched until its churches are efficient institutions. Such efficiency can obviously be measured only on the basis of criteria developed from the working of the institution itself. At least no church can be expected to do an effective service if it is not large enough or sufficiently organized to run well. No objective standards can be set, but the averages of churches themselves provide standards.

The *national and regional average* of churches in cities of comparable size and circumstance forms a fair standard. It is reasonable to expect of any denomination in the city that it shall not start churches that have no prospect of reaching such an average.

Every church-member has the right to be *institutionally well served* in his religious life and fellowship. Churches that are too small make unreasonable demands of time and money on their members and in return spend these things in the operating of machinery. The over-large church lets its adherents off too easily but offers less fellowship and affords opportunities for self-expression to only a few.

One of the bases of the development of efficient churches is the *economic ability of its constituency.* People of small ability for giving cannot meet the cost of a church that

[3] *The Church in the Changing City,* p. xv; *1000 City Churches,* pp. 76, 248, chapters iii & iv; Hallenbeck, op. cit., pp. 31, 48, 73 f., 79, 119; *Church Comity,* chapters viii & ix; Douglass, H. Paul, *The City's Church* (New York, Friendship Press, 1929), pp. 210 f. and 224 f.

reaches the average unless there are enough of them. The limits of what people should pay and the cost of a good church can be balanced only by varying or increasing the number of constituents.[4]

COÖPERATION

"In American cities coöperative human effort, with science to interpret whatever situations have evolved or may evolve, can go far toward assuring the adequacy and effectiveness of city churches as institutions." The feebleness of a church or even of a denominational group of churches to accomplish anything in the city as a whole makes the necessity of coöperation self-evident.

The *task of the church in the city as a whole* is the basis of the consideration of adequate churching. Only through coöperation can the forces of churching of the city take into consideration such a broad area. Such an approach is bound to express itself in two ways.

Reciprocity and coördination between churches and denominations is essential. Only in such a process can the efforts of each be made effective toward accomplishing the whole task.

Coöperative activity in which the churches actually function together can accomplish many things that none could do alone and creates fellowship in which the power of many small units is fused to make a power much greater than the sum of the parts.[5]

STRATEGY OF PLANNING

The development of strategy in city church planning is dependent on and an outgrowth of coöperative practices. Here is the positive side of the scientific approach mentioned above. There are three basic requirements if urban Protestantism chooses to build a common strategy: "knowl-

[4] Hallenbeck, op. cit., pp. 83 f., 90; *Church Comity,* pp. 151 f., 202 f., 206.
[5] *The City's Church,* p. 232; Sanderson, op. cit., p. 221; *Protestant Cooperation in American Cities,* pp. 61 f., chapter vii.

edge of social trends, knowledge of church progress, and the will to use such knowledge for the benefit of the community."

"Like environment, like church," "as goes the neighborhood, so goes the church," are found to be the rule in the American city. By and large the churches reflect the social and economic backgrounds and trends of their environment. The understanding of these relationships applied to specific cases is the beginning of strategy.

Exceptional churches are produced by certain internal conditions. Churches can fail in the midst of most favorable conditions. Some can suceed where others about them fail. It is by understanding why these things happen and applying the results of the understanding to situations that strong churches throughout the city can be procured.

A city church plan is the constructive approach to adequate churching in which the needs of the city and the forces for churching the city are set together in a practical plan. This also includes an outline of methods allowing considerable flexibility through which the adequate churching of the city may be brought about.

"The strategy of city church planning is the science of projecting and directing, in such ways as may seem appropriate to urban Protestants, the location and programizing of local churches. The church militant in the urban situation, if it desires to win everywhere all along the line, will require the continuous service of a competent, far-seeing and fair-minded board of strategy, coöperatively maintained. Only so can selfish competition be avoided and the resources of all the churches be placed at the service of all."[6]

These specifications for the adequate churching of the city have not been arbitrarily set down by the Institute. They are the results of the analysis and interpretation of the facts of the city and its churches. In fact, many of the factors of these specifications were the discoveries of the city societies which are here themselves analyzed. They have

[6] Sanderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 20, 185 f., 193, 221, chapter vi.

grown out of their experience in trying to solve the problems of the city church.

However, when the specifications were set down as principles drawn out of the facts by the Institute they inevitably became goals for the efforts of the city societies as the effective organizations of the denominations in the city, and standards against which they will be measured. Consequently, this report will endeavor to point out in what respect the city societies have met these specifications, and in what respects they have fallen short of them and failed to attempt to reach them in their program directed toward the adequate churching of the city.

Problem of the Study

The problem of this study can now be set down. It has attempted to find out three things:

(1) What are the denominational city societies as revealed by their actual expression of urban denominationalism?

(2) How far do they live up to their ideals and their responsibilities for the adequate churching of the city?

(3) In what respects might they better fill their rôle in the church and in the city?

Outline of Report

The report following this introductory chapter is divided into two parts. The first part, in five chapters, presents the factual data. Chapter ii tells when, how, and why the city societies came into existence. Chapter iii endeavors to show what they are through the analysis of what they do. Chapter iv shows how and by whom the work of the societies is done. Chapter v deals with how they have put their programs into effect and what they have accomplished. Chapter vi analyzes the relationships in which they have become involved.

The second part presents the interpretations and conclusions in three chapters. Chapter vii is a critique of the

societies in the form of an exposition and explanation of their present problems. Chapter viii analyzes the philosophy already implicit in the leadership of the societies as the working basis for their further development. Chapter ix points out the readjustments that are necessary and the inevitable consequences of the present tendencies.

Chapter II

HISTORY AND EVOLUTION

[For references see Historical Bibliography at the end of the chapter.]

In the year 1816 a Congregational minister from the city of New York made a visit to Boston. Speaking to a group of Congregationalists there he told of investigations carried on in New York which revealed a deplorable state of vice and wretchedness among the poor. The Boston Congregationalists were inspired to conduct similar investigations in their city "which disclosed the melancholy fact that there were hundreds of poor families without the Bible, and without a regular place of worship, and hundreds of children destitute of religion and even common school instruction." In order to do something for these unfortunate people The Boston Society for the Moral and Religious Instruction of the Poor was organized. "This was the first society for city evangelization established in any part of the world." The name of this organization was later changed to the City Missionary Society, but the original purpose as indicated in its first name still continues after 117 years.[1]

Just two-thirds of a century later, in March, 1882, the Congregational churches of Chicago sent their representatives together "to receive the challenge of the spiritual destitution of Chicago." The report "almost staggered belief." It pictured vice and lawlessness in a city which was "belted and striped by saloons and pawnshops, concert halls, and alley resorts." It revealed "vast areas of the metropolitan districts which were untouched by religious influences." Chicago presented three particularly disturbing factors: the disruption of the social and religious life

throughout the city following the big fire; the vicious element which had come with the development of the city as a seaport and a railroad center; and the influx of immigrant peoples bringing the necessity for fundamental adjustments of faiths and practices. With a determination to make a "planned effort to meet the moral and religious needs of the city as a whole" the Chicago City Missionary Society was born.[2]

Another third of a century slipped by. It was just one hundred years after the first city society was organized. The vast empire along the Pacific was in the full swing of its development. San Francisco had passed from a frontier town to the western metropolis. With its sister cities it included a great area and a large population and was experiencing a phenomenal growth. The Presbyterians around San Francisco Bay came to realize that only united and organized forces could hope to meet existing needs. To do their task, the rival presbyteries of Oakland and San Francisco, on the opposite sides of the great bay, united and set up a temporary committee to undertake the work of their denomination in this metropolitan area. The city expert of the denominational home-missions organization was sent for. He made a study of the area and its needs and of all the churches of the denomination. He then proceeded to lay out a plan of organization, a program of work, and methods of procedure. This scientific study led to the formation of the Church Extension Board of San Francisco Presbytery.[3]

Thus a century of progress in the organization of the denominations for work in the cities was registered. This century not only marks the sweep of these organizations across the continent in the wake of the expansion of the nation, but also records a great evolution within the organizations. Their purposes have radically changed. Their organization and organizational relationships have been transformed. The area in which they function has greatly expanded.

The evolutionary development which the history of these societies portrays is important background to the understanding of what they are. As new societies have been organized from time to time, advances have been recorded which, in the main, reflect the changes made by the older societies as a result of their experience. In this evolution some societies have lagged behind while others have forged ahead. A consecutive historical analysis does not find all of the societies advancing together, but reveals the way they have come. To trace this way the beginnings of the thirty-two representative societies of this study are analyzed.[4]

THE PIONEER SOCIETIES

The oldest of the societies studied were organized within twenty years following 1816, the year the first was started. During approximately the same years the mission boards of the denominations were also getting their start. While the three oldest city societies were all in Boston others were also organized in the major cities of the Atlantic seaboard.[5]

One of the striking characteristics of these pioneer societies was the lack of denominational emphasis. The first one organized was made up of Congregationalists in Boston, but it has never had the denominational adjective in its name. In some of the other cities, societies begun in these early days were and have continued to be interdenominational organizations.[6]

The characteristic purpose of these societies was expressed in their constitutions as "the moral and religious instruction of the poor." They were independent organizations composed of individuals whose contributions provided their chief maintenance. These individuals were largely laymen acting on their own initiative and interest. From the earliest days the movement toward the organization for city mission work was predominantly a lay movement. Programs were confined to serving and saving individuals of the underprivileged group. Here was an attempt on the

part of an aristocratic group to provide religious ministry in a patronizing way for poor people who were not welcome in the churches which belonged to the upper classes.

AFTER THE CIVIL WAR

Thirty years passed and the Civil War was over before there was another spurt in the organization of city mission work. Five more of the thirty-two societies studied came into existence between the Civil War and 1880.[7]

Five facts from the history of this period are important. First, the industrial revolution in the United States was in full swing. Second, the cities became larger and took on new importance. Third, with the renewal of immigration following the Civil War people of foreign birth and speech began to settle in the cities. Fourth, charitable and missionary enterprises were thought of in larger terms following the larger-scale giving which had developed in the Civil War days. Fifth, during these years there was a widespread and significant growth in the membership of the churches.[8]

Both the increase in the number of city societies and the change in their purpose are logical concomitants of these historical facts. The idea of church extension appeared. Sunday schools, mission churches, and churches for foreign-speaking people were established. This was a definite change from the first idea. The area of function was enlarged. Now activity was in the sphere of mission churches and the service was primarily to groups of people. Organizations continued largely, as in the pioneer days, to be independent groups of individuals made up principally of laymen.

These years mark a definite change in the conception of what these societies were for. Gradually the starting of churches became the primary purpose. The underlying motive of extending the church replaced that of ministering to the poor. The recurrent phrase in the statements of purpose was "to promote the cause of Christ" in the city by establishing churches. This transition is illustrated by

the case of the Methodist organization in Boston, which was the first to be organized after the Civil War. The purpose made a bridge from the old to the new: "to carry the means of grace to the neglected and destitute by establishing Sunday schools and religious meetings and securing church attendance and in all other ways laboring to promote the cause of Christ." After a lapse of several years this society was reorganized "to establish and aid Methodist Episcopal churches, missions, Sunday schools and other agencies for the advancement of the cause of Christ in Boston." The new purpose was clear.

THE CLOSE OF THE CENTURY

The last two decades of the nineteenth century are exceptionally significant in the history of the United States, foreshadowing, as they did, some of the most important developments of the present day. The pace of industrialization was accelerated; means of communication advanced by leaps and bounds; inventions multiplied. As the cities grew in size, industry was increasingly concentrated and became more and more important.

Dr. Sweet in *The Story of Religions in America* says, "The outstanding factor in the development of the United States since the Civil War has been the tendency toward the consolidation of political and economic institutions. In politics this tendency is illustrated by the steadily growing power of the Federal government at the expense of the states; in business, by the rise of great corporations and the consolidation of management, at the expense of the individual operator." This tendency began very definitely to take hold of the city societies and provided a new base for their existence and their work.[9]

Of the thirty-two societies studied the ten organized during this time show a marked similarity in their statement of purpose. Church extension became the extension of the denomination. Purposes specifically mention aid to churches, "fostering feeble churches," as a part of the

strengthening of the denominations in the cities. In addition and as a corollary to this change of emphasis a new purpose appeared, the development of fraternity and unity among the churches of the denomination. This reflects the discovery of a real need for united action and a local denominational *esprit de corps.* It has continued as one of the dominant purposes. As will finally be seen, the fulfillment of this purpose is one of the most significant accomplishments of the city societies.[10]

This purpose definitely involved the churches of the denomination in the city. As a result, the organization was materially affected. While the societies were still technically independent, and organized and maintained by individuals, they were coming to be made up of the official representatives of the churches. They were now recognized as instruments of the churches and of the denominations. This was the beginning of a transition which, as will be seen, landed the societies in the midst of ecclesiastical affiliations.

These years saw a further expansion of the area in which the societies functioned. From helping a limited number of mission churches the societies reached out to bring together the churches and the interests of the denomination in their cities.

At the beginning of this period the Chicago City Missionary Society (now the Chicago Congregational Union), already mentioned, appeared. Its organization brought a large contribution of ideas to the city societies, and also the first statement dealing with the philosophy underlying them, which is still in advance of the thinking of many societies. Three of the ideas are of special importance.[11]

The first was the necessity of creating a closely associated union of churches both for the mutual strengthening of all the parts through fellowship, and as an instrument with which to project into every area of the urban community the moral force and influence of the Christian church. This idea as such was not entirely new. Other societies had al-

ready expressed as part of their purposes the unification of the churches of the denomination in the city, but the expression of its implications and their importance, in other words the laying down of a basis of understanding, a philosophy, for the development of the societies' work, was new.

A second contribution of the Chicago Congregationalists was the idea of serving all the churches in accordance with their individual needs, doing for each what it could not do for itself toward building a stronger and more useful church. This as a practical program has gradually, and inevitably, come into the scope of the city societies, but seldom have its implications been definitely stated.

The third idea was the application to the church of the fundamentally Christian and social principle of sharing. The city society was looked upon as the agency which can draw together the spiritual and material resources of the strong churches to help those that are weaker to carry on a more adequate ministry. This idea has appeared in a number of places. The keenest minds in the leadership of the city societies have built it into their philosophies, but there is still a long way to go before it becomes a genuine principle of procedure.

THE NEW CENTURY

The early years of the twentieth century, to about 1912, brought further developments to the city societies. These appeared in the formation of the seven new societies which were added to the list. The most definite change was in the auspices under which the new organizations were formed. Up to this time groups of individuals instigated the plans; from now on the local ecclesiastical body such as presbytery, district, or association either initiated or cooperated in the organization of the societies. Even with this new ecclesiastical initiative and sanction the societies continued to be predominantly organizations of laymen whose interest and activity the church had come to capitalize.[12]

The extension of the denomination continued as the dominant motive, and this was intensified by the addition of the purpose to aid in the building of new church edifices. The era of new church buildings was beginning and in the cities the denominational societies were largely responsible for its promotion.

The closing years of the nineteenth century had brought to the fore the preaching of the "social gospel." A number of prominent ministers and professors spoke and wrote concerning the implications of the gospel for a social ministry. After a decade the influence of this point of view affected the work of the city societies. Programs were broadened. Social service work of different types was undertaken. Institutions, such as neighborhood houses, were established. These years mark the intensification of function rather than the enlargement of the area of the functions.

RECENT YEARS

Seven societies, organized since 1913, complete the thirty-two studied. These years mark a culmination of the evolution which has been traced.[13]

With the turn of the century the urban consciousness became a very real thing. Lincoln Steffens was in the midst of his "muckraking" of the American cities. Josiah Strong published his epochal book, *The Challenge of the City.* The country came to realize the importance and influence of the great cities. Here again there was a lag of more than a decade in the effect of these developments in the nation upon the work of the city societies. This effect, however, during these recent years has been great.

The purposes of these new organizations were written in more general terms; "to effectively carry forward a plan of church extension" is an example. Under this broad charter many new approaches have been made to the work. A closer supervision of missionary work, of aided churches, and of institutions has been developed. Scientific survey has been undertaken in a few places as a basis for more

constructively planned work. There has been a great increase in service to churches. Consultation and advice have assisted in the unification of the denomination locally. Some societies have employed directors of religious education to bring technical service to the churches. Certain general programs of evangelism, religious education, summer camps and the like have been undertaken. In addition, the societies have become the local denominational headquarters and have been made responsible for the administration of the whole local denominational program. This was a great step in advance. The city societies have reached a position in which they are not circumscribed and can undertake anything that appears desirable in directing and assisting city denominational affairs. In the main this latter group of societies came into being as modern methods of undertaking the tasks of the church in the city, and the older societies in their later development have fallen into line.

A closer integration of the local ecclesiastical and missionary organization has been effected. With one exception, these societies either were made integral parts of the local ecclesiastical structure from the start or represented a reorganization of the local ecclesiastical structure to make them agencies for local missionary administration. Seven of the older societies have been reorganized, merging what were two distinct organizations into a single unit.

An interesting illustration of the advance both of purpose and of organization is seen in the Home Missions Committee of Allegheny and Monongahela Presbyteries, the United Presbyterian city society in Pittsburgh, which is the last of those studied to be organized (1927). The purpose adds a distinctly new item, "to supply vacant pulpits." This was formerly a strictly ecclesiastical function, but it has been coördinated specifically in the expressed purpose of the organized missionary work.

The widening purpose and activities of the societies compelled a corresponding expansion in the area of function.

The intensive denominational cultivation has brought the societies more and more into relationship with other denominations and has resulted in their considering the whole city as their field. This stage of evolution brings the expanding horizons of the city societies to their limits. They now have the responsibility for a more intensive cultivation of their field, with the adequate churching of the whole city as their goal.

EVOLVING CONCEPTS OF CITY SOCIETIES

The foregoing account of the city societies makes it evident that their growth has been an evolutionary process, and that in the process the concepts behind the societies have undergone marked changes.

The prime motive for the organization of every city society from first to last was, as has been seen, to meet the need for missionary work in the city. There were people who could not provide the ministry of the church for themselves, and there were others who had no sense of the value of the church's ministry. To all of these people the societies undertook to take the church.

The recognition of the need of the city, however, was but the beginning of a long train of discovery whose end is not yet. Every increase in the knowledge of the city has also increased understanding of its needs. Taking the church to minister to these varied needs has demanded many new ways of work and service. Hence, the original motive was expanded to include social service. A feeble thing in the early days, this service has recently become increasingly important. Its expression has included relief and guidance, recreation, social life in clubs, and education in every-day problems, in vocational interests, and in cultural subjects.

As a means of carrying forward their program of service the city societies discovered the necessity of building the churches into a conscious entity. This necessity was particularly evident in denominations with the congregational form of government where the local church was the unit

and ecclesiastical machinery had found little opportunity to fuse these local churches together into a denominational consciousness. A common purpose and a fellowship in common endeavor have been the bonds to effect such a unity.

Logically involved in any real sense of unity among the churches is the Christian idea of "sharing," that is, of the more fortunate aiding the less fortunate, which, as has been noted, was first put forth officially by the Chicago Congregationalists.

A further logical step was the scientific approach to the problem of churching and serving the city through the use of survey and research, and some of the newest societies have put this kind of approach in the forefront of their programs.

These successive developments in the thinking of the societies have led naturally to the most significant change that has modified their original motivation. That is, the substitution of the needs of the whole city for the interests of the denomination as the background of their operations. This has meant a reorientation of the whole program. With this transition the foundation for a more definite and consistent attack upon the problem of a more adequate churching of the city has been laid.

The very fact of the process of change that has been described shows an inherent vitality in these societies which is at present one of the most real assets of the church in the United States. This vitality is, to a large extent, due to the fact that the city societies have been organizations of laymen, and in consequence have been free from the inhibitions and inelasticity of ecclesiasticism. Most of them were started by laymen; laymen furnished the initiative and much of the money for carrying on the work. Even in later years, when the societies have been part of the ecclesiastical machinery, the laymen of the boards of directors have continued to keep them vigorous and progressive.

The importance of the lay control of these societies is

emphasized by the recent trend in the pattern of business to meet modern conditions by centralization and administrative unity, so as to secure greater efficiency in improving service and reducing cost. Conditions which have made such developments desirable in all phases of activity, particularly in urban centers, have affected the churches, and their response is to be found in the denominational city societies, a response which has been possible because laymen, familiar with the business and political world, have been in control.

If these societies should be done away with, or should become ineffective and cease to be, the very nature of the situation would create something after the same fashion to take their places. Five of the societies studied have suffered lapses, each for a different reason. In one case it was the reflection of a general economic depression which the society was unprepared to meet; in another it was the loss of interest and consequently income for lack of an aggressive program; and in another case the state organization took over the work of the city society for a decade, only to find that it could not satisfactorily meet the city's needs. In every case there was a new start with enlarged program and renewed interest, born of a rediscovery of the necessity and desire for such a society to meet the needs of the city.

Through all of the denominations and all of the cities the situations, the problems and the forces have been the same. Fundamentally the denominations are not responsible for the coming of the city societies. They may have aided and abetted them or they may have opposed them, but in either case they have come to stay. The objective causes which have produced them continue to carry them on.

The report turns now to the analysis of the work of the societies. Are the ideas behind the societies which their history reveals actually born out in their practice? Have the societies made intelligent efforts in the direction of the

adequate churching of the city after the essential requirements discovered by the former studies of the Institute?

Historical Bibliography

Note: The historical data were gathered from printed annual reports, historical summaries, original minute books, reports of committees, original and amended constitutions and by-laws, various pamphlets and promotional literature, and files of periodicals published by some societies. These were supplemented by conferences with present executives and in some cases former executives and laymen who had been in the organization for many years. The major documentary sources are recorded in this list.

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Chapter III

THE WORK OF THE SOCIETIES

In the previous chapter an attempt was made to sketch in outline the theories underlying the organization of city denominational societies. Only a study of their actual programs and activities will reveal how far the practises of the societies reflect those theories and have made them real. This will be the task of the present chapter.

SCOPE OF ACTIVITIES

The activities undertaken by the societies are more numerous and varied than might be expected. Expanding through the years, the societies have come to include in their work practically everything that the city church has found it desirable to do. Probably very few in the constituencies of the societies outside of the executive boards appreciate how wide a range they cover.

The activities can be classified in three general groups. The carrying on of certain home-mission projects to which aid is granted each year is considered the first responsibility of the societies. The projects reveal a great variety of work. Service to churches, that is doing things directly for particular churches, comes next. In recent years this part of the work has greatly increased in the variety of things done and in the number of churches served. Finally, there is a general program in which the society, as agent of the churches of the denomination in a city, carries on activities in which the churches can function together.

In addition to these three classes of activities there is a function which falls outside any of them, yet which takes

considerable time and attention. This is the work devolving upon the societies that have been recognized as their denominational headquarters in the city.

INVENTORY OF ACTIVITIES

A list of the activities in which the societies are engaged follows. No society does everything, but every activity was found in the group studied.

Denominational Headquarters: (a) administration of denominational affairs; (b) clearing house; (c) office work.

Home Mission Aid: (a) for new churches in new fields; (b) to assist churches that are not able to become independent; (c) to provide backing for enlarged programs of rehabilitation and adjustment; (d) maintaining institutions for special service; (e) grants and loans for church buildings.

Service to Churches: (a) service in connection with finances; (b) assistance to churches in solving particular problems; (c) helping churches in their programs; (d) office work done for individual churches.

General Program: (a) evangelism; (b) religious education; (c) social service; (d) women's work; (e) young people's work; (f) boys' and girls' work; (g) summer camps; (h) survey and research; (i) other activities.

What are these activities like? To what extent are they related to the ideas and goals of the societies? What is their relative importance as indicated by the frequency of their occurrence?

Denominational Headquarters

One of the most interesting developments of the city societies is that their offices have gradually become recognized as the local denominational headquarters. This is an accomplished fact in two-thirds of the societies studied and the rest are on the way toward this position.

In the societies that have been merged with the local ecclesiastical organizations the executive is the official ad-

ministrator of all denominational affairs. Where the societies are departments of the ecclesiastical organization usually he is elected as the executive of the ecclesiastical body also. When the society is still independent the executive is, as a rule, the only paid local official of the denomination, and the society office is the only place in the city belonging to the denomination as a whole. Consequently the executive and the office are constantly called upon as a headquarters would be.

Here is definite evidence that a conscious unity is developing among the churches and in the denominational constituency of the city. The prestige of such a recognized position tends to have a cumulative effect in increasing this unity. When a person telephones the society office and a voice answers "this is Baptist headquarters" or "this is Presbyterian headquarters", the impression is apt to accrue to the advantage of the society.

Although this is a real asset, the extra work entailed often becomes a burden to a limited office force with responsibilities already demanding all of the available time. Usually ecclesiastical bodies assume their right to use the city society offices. They make the executive their executive and place upon him the responsibilities of administering their affairs, but seldom if ever do they provide any funds to pay for extra work.

The detailed work of denominational headquarters can be accounted for under three general heads.

ADMINISTRATION OF DENOMINATIONAL AFFAIRS

The great weakness of local ecclesiastical organizations of the denominations is that they are volunteer groups and no one is responsible for getting things done. Committees are made up of men already busy with their own churches and affairs. Only a few, who feel a responsibility to the group, are willing to invest time doing its work. When the executive of the city society becomes also the executive secretary of the local ecclesiastical body, the responsibility for

getting things done is automatically shifted to his shoulders. Thereafter it is his business to call and arrange meetings, to see that the activities of the body are carried out, to call together and supervise the activity of committees and then to do what the committees decide should be done. Then things begin to be treated with due seriousness and to be done in businesslike fashion. The whole enterprise takes on new importance and effectiveness. One compensating factor is that the more important ecclesiastical problems are those connected with the work of the society.

CLEARING HOUSE

The office becomes the clearing house for all denominational matters. Through it the national denominational offices and officials reach the churches and the communities. The distribution of denominational printed matter and other publicity, such as stereoptican lectures and moving pictures, is made part of the task. Local interdenominational plans and programs go through the office, as do all approaches on civic and social matters. Anyone who wants to bring a matter before the ecclesiastical body does it through the office. Any contacts or relationships that the ecclesiastical body wants to make are made by the office. A stream of things comes to move almost constantly through this channel.

OFFICE WORK

The processes of administration add materially to office routine. Notices must be sent out, letters written, arrangements made, minutes typed, telephoning done, books kept, records and materials cared for.

People seem to think that they can call on the office for anything. Other organizations want envelopes addressed. Lists of churches and ministers are frequently in demand. Societies and individuals ask for mimeographing or other such work which they do not have equipment to produce.

In addition, calls and telephone conversations become

numerous. Information, direction for making contacts and locating material, suggestions in connection with all sorts of matters are sought. Even requests for personal assistance are numerous.

This headquarters work has almost no limit. In spite of unreasonable demands it is graciously done, for the desire to be of every possible service pervades even the office staff of these societies. This service makes many friends. It is worth a great deal to the societies to have the ecclesiastical functions carried on with despatch. Under present arrangements, however, the only way that the cost can be met is by absorbing it in an already large overhead, which is not fair to the accounting of the societies' budgets.

Home Mission Aid

Conducting the missionary work in the city, involving the distribution of home-mission aid, is the primary function of the city societies. Historically this was the purpose for which they were started. The analysis of the work in this connection reveals the present significance of the original purpose of the city societies and its later broadening to include social-service work. Two of the principles of adequate churching are also involved at this point, adaptation and institutional efficiency.

The administration of this work is exceedingly complicated. Great ingenuity is called for in developing a variety of projects to meet changing needs. Constant attention is necessary to keep them all working smoothly. Workers must be employed; personal adjustments have to be worked out; programs must be developed; activities need supervision; budgets have to be arranged, and funds provided. When such responsibilities are multiplied by half a hundred or more projects it obviously becomes a sizable task.

The analysis of home-mission aid that follows is based on a classification which developed out of a preliminary study of the general character of the projects of the societies.

The projects which had received aid during the last fifteen years from thirty-three societies of eight denominations in eight cities were classified.[1] There were 1,404 projects in all, an average of forty-three per society, ranging from 4 to 179. Of the total number, 711 were receiving aid at the time the study was made.

In the appendix are to be found five tables giving the basic data for this chapter. Table III gives the distribution and classification of total projects aided in recent years, by societies, cities, and denominations. Table IV gives the same for projects aided in 1932-33. Table V gives the distribution and explanation of projects for which aid has been discontinued, by societies, cities, and denominations. Table VI gives the per cent. distribution and classification of total projects and projects aided in 1932-33, by cities and denominations. Table VII gives the per cent. distribution and explanations of projects for which aid has been discontinued by cities and denominations.

CHURCH EXTENSION IN NEW FIELDS

Establishing new churches in new fields has been considered in past years as the first task of the city society. Just as a family supports its infants and children, so the city societies support new enterprises until they become able to support themselves. Of the total 1,404 projects, 272, or 19 per cent., received aid on the basis of their newness.[2]

This type of work varies greatly. Sometimes these enterprises are only Sunday schools started in newer residential areas in some available rented quarters, a house or a store. In such cases the expense is small and the appropriations from the societies would cover merely rent and the salary for a part-time worker. In other places new churches are started with full-time pastors and new buildings and equip-

[1] In some of the societies the period was less than fifteen years because the society was organized within that time or because the adequate records did not go back quite that far.

[2] Cf. Appendix Table III.

ment. Here the subsidy of the society must be much larger. The tendency in recent years has been to divide the new fields among denominations, to protect each one against competition by comity agreements and then to make as adequate a start as possible with a well-qualified pastor and a good building and equipment.

The proportion of work in new fields varies from city to city and from denomination to denomination. As would be expected, with the exception of Washington, where only one society was studied, the large percentages of the projects in this classification are found in the more rapidly growing cities: 35 per cent. in Detroit and 27 per cent. in Los Angeles. The cities of slower growth have the smallest percentages: Pittsburgh 11 and Boston 13. Chicago, with 12 per cent. of the projects new churches, falls far below what would be expected. This is largely due to the attention which the Chicago societies have given to the problems of readjustment.[3]

The difference among the denominations are almost as great as those between cities. Leaving out of the comparisons those denominations of which only one or two societies were studied, the Congregationalists have only 11 per cent. of their projects in this classification. The Baptists and Presbyterians, on the other hand, appear to be more disposed to start new churches, with respectively 24 per cent. and 22 per cent. The policy of the recently organized United Presbyterian society to renew itself in the Pittsburgh area shows up here with 50 per cent. of its projects in this group.

ASSISTANCE TO CHURCHES

Churches that are old enough to have grown up are in many cases not able to take care of themselves. This group is the largest among the aided enterprises, amounting to 43 per cent. of all the projects. The differences from city to

[3] Cf. Appendix Table VI.

city are not great. The range is from 38 per cent. in Boston and in Detroit to 48 per cent. in San Francisco.

The denominational differences, however, are very wide. The Protestant Episcopal societies have 64 per cent. of their projects in this classification, and the Congregational 51 per cent. The lowest are the Disciples societies, with 17 per cent., and the Baptist, with 28 per cent.[4]

This classification is divided into three groups. The first is designated *regular churches.* These are small affairs with simple traditional church programs. Because of their own feeble efforts, or of the limitations of the neighborhoods which they serve, or of their own clannishness which prevents their growth, they cannot become independent. Thirty per cent. of all the projects are in this group. Again there is little difference between the cities. But between the denominations the range is from 15 per cent. of the Baptist to 49 per cent. of the Protestant Episcopal projects.

The second group is made up of the *dying churches.* Either they have not enough energy to carry on a significant ministry, or they have no neighborhoods to serve, or they are kept barely alive by a few people with sentimental attachments to the church of their fathers. Obviously these should be closed up, but internal persistence keeps them alive. Perhaps they should be starved, but often the entire withdrawal of aid quickens their persistence. Consequently, dribbles of aid are given them with the hope that soon they will sense their own futility. Fortunately only 5 per cent. of the projects are in this group. Of the cities, Chicago has the fewest with only 1 per cent., and of the denominations, the Protestant Episcopal societies have the most with 10 per cent.

The third group is composed of those churches which have received *emergency assistance* to meet some special situation. This type of help has increased in the last few years. Eight per cent. of the projects are of this kind. Boston has the fewest, only 2 per cent., while Chicago has the

[4] Cf. Appendix Tables VI and III.

most with 12 per cent. Among the denominations there is no significant variation, except that the Unitarian, Disciples, and United Presbyterian societies have given no help of this variety.

REHABILITATION AND ADJUSTMENT

Rehabilitation and adjustment is the term used to designate those enterprises in which there have been significant adaptations to the community or neighborhood. The societies grant aid to churches to make possible an extensive program. It is rehabilitation because normally an old church, which has greatly suffered because of a changing environment in which a traditional church program is no longer able to make headway, is made over to fit its new surroundings. Adjustment indicates that the program has been built to fit the particular needs of the situation.

The programs of such enterprises are for the most part highly developed. Sometimes they have been called institutional churches. There are all sorts of clubs for various age and sex groups, many social and recreational programs, gymnasium classes and athletic teams, and classes for numerous kinds of training, from English to millinery and from public speaking to auto mechanics. In most cases a multiple staff is required and larger building space and more extensive equipment are necessary. These the societies often undertake to provide. When this work is effectively done large subsidies are required.

The extent to which these enterprises have been developed and their relative efficiency differ widely, in direct proportion, in most instances, to the amount of money they have with which to work. This work is distinctively an urban venture and is coming more and more to occupy the attention and the funds of the city societies. The inventory of projects classifies just one-third as of this type. The range among the cities is from 23 per cent. in Detroit to 41 per cent. in Boston. This reflects the more dominant need of the rapidly growing city, on the one hand, and the more

static city, on the other. Among the denominations the range is from 16 per cent. of the Protestant Episcopal projects to 43 per cent. of the Baptist. This indicates very definitely the relative affinity of these denominations for this kind of work.[5]

This type of projects is divided into five groups. The first is *community adjustment* with an all-English work in areas of deterioration from which the old aristocracy has retreated and into which new people of a distinctly lower social status have come. These areas are also marked by a large amount of transiency. This group accounts for 5 per cent. of the total projects. The extremes among the cities are 2 per cent. in Detroit and 11 per cent. in Pittsburgh.

Work for *foreign-speaking and racial groups* comes under this classification. This is divided between the simple traditional churches and the more highly developed programs analogous to the community adjustment work. The former account for 19 per cent. of the projects, varying from 12 per cent. in Detroit to 26 per cent. in Chicago and from 10 per cent. of the Protestant Episcopal projects to 30 per cent. of the Baptist. The Baptist denomination has a definite affinity for this type of work. The more highly developed programs account for 3 per cent. of the total projects. The range is from 1 per cent. in Chicago to 6 per cent. in Cleveland. The low percentage in Chicago is because the highly developed work among national and racial groups is done by neighborhood houses rather than by churches. Among the denominations the only significant variation is that the Baptists have two points above the average.

A fourth group is made up of those projects which receive aid to give them a *new start.* These are likely to be churches in residential areas which, for one reason or another, have been unsuccessful in ministering to their neighborhoods. They undertake to try it again by revising their

[5] Cf. Appendix Tables VI and III.

programs and their approach, and help is given them until they can get on their feet. Four per cent. of the projects are in this group. The variations are slight. Cleveland is high with 7 per cent. and the Protestant Episcopal societies are low with 2 per cent.

The other group in this class is *special projects in self-supporting churches.* The societies make special grants to churches that are independent to enable them to do certain specific things, such as putting on a vacation church school for particular children, or having a special program for some group, such as sailors or Italians. This amounts to only 2 per cent. of the total number of projects. Boston has 7 per cent. and the Congregationalists 4 per cent.

INSTITUTIONS

The final class of projects is composed of those enterprises which are not churches at all, but institutions for special service. Neighborhood houses predominate, with Christian Centers the only other large group. They do include, however, such enterprises as seamen's institutes, rescue missions with social work programs, institutions for industrial rehabilitation for the handicapped, homes for girls, orphanages, and so forth. There are sixty-four institutions,[6] 5 per cent. of all the projects. More than one-third of the institutions are in Chicago. Nearly as large a proportion are conducted by the Presbyterian societies. The range in percentages shows Boston to have 8 per cent. and Cleveland only 2 per cent. Among the denominations the only marked variation is the Methodist Episcopal with 2 per cent. This does not mean, however, that the Methodists have fewer institutions. Actually they have the most. It means rather that their institutions are not conducted under the auspices of the city societies.[7]

[6] This includes some duplications because in several cities two denominations support the same institution. The number of different institutions is somewhat less.

[7] Cf. Appendix Tables VI and III.

PROJECTS STILL SUPPORTED

Fifty-one per cent. of the total number of projects which have received aid during the last fifteen years were still receiving aid from the city societies in the year of the study, 1932-33. The percentages of those that continue differ widely with the different classes of projects.[8]

Fifty-four per cent. of the new projects are still being helped. This percentage is larger than would be expected. New churches do not seem to grow up as rapidly as expected. Prognostications of their development are not always based on the scientific analysis of the possible future of the community, and sometimes unforeseen factors, such as shifts in the direction of city growth due to the extension of transportation facilities, leave them temporarily sidetracked. In the past many new churches were started by the zeal of some individual church without due planning and later, when the going became hard, were turned over to the city societies. These never should have been started, but once they are under way it is next to impossible to abandon them.

The aid to regular churches has been continued in 48 per cent. of the projects. This is not surprising when it is known that in many cases the aid has consisted of dribbles of a few dollars per year. Such aid has been entirely ineffective. Either the work should be closed up or larger subsidies provided to enable the projects to make real adjustment to their community. The dying churches have for the most part died, for only 21 per cent. of them are left. The emergency assistance has been clearly temporary, for only 13 per cent. of this group remain. Altogether the projects classified as assistance to churches represent 38 per cent. of the number still supported.

In the classification of rehabilitation and adjustment two of the five types of projects more definitely represent the principle involved. Aid to projects of community adjust-

[8] Cf. Appendix Table IV.

ment continues in 83 per cent. of the total cases. The corresponding projects among racial groups are continued in 71 per cent. of the cases. Such work has no possibility of self-support, and the only reasons for discontinuance are the evacuation of populations from the communities served, leaving no need for the work, or failure to do the job successfully. The projects receiving aid for new start and special programs are essentially temporary and consequently have much lower percentages of continuance. This leaves simple churches for racial groups, a sort of semi-adjustment. Here casualties have been greatest, with only 62 per cent. continuing.

The institutions have been the most permanent. Eighty-five per cent. are still assisted. A 15 per cent. unsuccessful experiment is not a bad record for this pioneering activity.

The distribution, by types, of the projects now aided differs somewhat from the distribution of the whole number. New churches are 21 per cent. instead of 19. Assistance to churches shows the largest difference, dropping from 43 to 32 per cent. This is chiefly compensated for by an increase in the projects of rehabilitation and adjustment from 33 to 39 per cent., and in institutions from 5 to 8 per cent. On the whole, this is evidence of a trend in the direction of a more intelligent ministry of adaptation to the need of the city.[9]

The differences by cities and denominations in general follow the trends just indicated. The only apparently significant variation is in Chicago, where the trend is much more marked. The distribution of the Chicago projects is: new churches 12 per cent., assistance to churches 24 per cent., projects of rehabilitation and adjustment 52 per cent., and institutions 12 per cent.

DISCONTINUED AID

During the period in which the projects of the societies were analyzed, aid to 693, or 49 per cent. of the total num-

[9] Cf. Appendix Table VI.

ber of projects, was discontinued. These discontinuancies are largely explained by two reasons. In 63 per cent. of the cases self-support was assumed by the enterprise and in 25 per cent. work was suspended. Of the balance, 8 per cent. were merged with self-supporting churches or other projects and 2 per cent. were transferred to other denominations. In 1 per cent. aid was stopped because the projects were receiving outside support from other sources and in another 1 per cent. because of circumstances within the church, such as contention or non-coöperative leadership.[10]

Nearly one-third of the cases in which the work was suspended represent the dying churches which died. The other two-thirds were unsuccessful projects, where situations did not justify the continuance of aid, or where plans attempted did not work out successfully, or where difficulties were encountered which could not be overcome.

The fact that 63 per cent. of the enterprises which no longer receive aid came to self-support appears to be an excellent record. However, in this number are included some which have come to self-support only in the sense that aid is no longer granted to them. They have in no sense been able to procure enough funds from their own people to carry on an adequate work, but are struggling along on whatever they can get together. In these cases the boards of the societies either found that their diminishing incomes did not permit them to give further aid or they decided that the efforts of the churches did not merit any more assistance.

A few striking variations from this percentage distribution should be noted. In Los Angeles only 1 per cent. of the projects has been discontinued and 93 per cent. have come to self-support. In Chicago 45 per cent. were discontinued and 42 per cent. came to self-support. Cleveland has the record for merging projects with other enterprises; 19 per cent. of those where aid was discontinued are accounted for in this way.

[10] Cf. Appendix Table VII.

Among the denominations the Methodist Episcopal societies have suspended work in 48 per cent. of the projects, while the Presbyterians have ceased activity in only 10 per cent. The positions of these two denominations are consequently reversed in the percentages of projects coming to self-support, the Presbyterian societies are high with 80 per cent. and the Methodist Episcopal low with 48 per cent.

CHURCH BUILDING AID

In connection with the discussion of home-mission aid mention must be made of the assistance given to churches to enable them to buy new property, erect new buildings or extensively remodel old ones, or to pay debts which have been assumed on account of new buildings.

It was not possible to obtain complete data on this type of assistance. However, in connection with the analysis of service to churches which will be discussed in the next section, it was discovered that out of 1,871 churches of twenty-two societies 664 had received building aid; this is 35.4 per cent. Of the 1,019 receiving regular aid 535, or 52.5 per cent., had also received building aid. Of the 852 which did not receive regular aid 129, or 15.7 per cent., received building aid.[11]

Regardless of any considerations of the wisdom of the extensive building operations of the city churches in recent years, it must be said that it has been made possible to a large extent by the assistance of the city societies. The amount of money involved, the number of churches assisted, the supervision of plans, contracts and operations, and the arrangements necessary to assure the coöperation of the churches helped to the full extent of their ability is a significant business in itself.

SUMMARY

The city societies distribute their home-mission aid to a large number and a great variety of projects. This vari-

[11] Cf. Appendix Table VIII.

ety ranges from the helping of single feeble churches to the conduct of enterprises which have been developed to bring the ministry of the church to the diverse needs of the many kinds of people in the city.

Distinct differences in emphasis are apparent both in the cities and in the denominations. Fundamentally, however, the work is very similar, which emphasizes the fact already well known, that the problems of the church are the same in all of our cities. There is an indication, nevertheless, that some societies have carried on their work with a considerable degree of scientific planning, while others have proceeded largely on an opportunistic basis with a *laissez-faire* attitude.

The point of greatest importance is a marked trend toward extension of the more definitely urban types of work. The dribbling of aid to many small faltering churches is on the wane. A new policy was indicated by several of the executives. This is to concentrate aid in a smaller number of projects, with larger appropriations to each, in order that more effective work may be done, even though in fewer places. This policy of concentration and intensive development replaces the older policy of trying to spread the denominational enterprise as widely as possible in the cities. Evidence points to the fact that this new policy is already becoming a reality.

Service to Churches

Serving the individual churches in their denominational city group has come to be an important and extensive phase of the activity of the city societies. This service is not reckoned in the statements of purpose of the organizations. Only one executive referred to it as an objective except as it was included in such general statements as finding the needs of the city and helping to meet these needs. On the whole it is taken for granted both by the churches and by the societies. When specialists, such as directors of religious education, social workers, or directors of boys and

girls work, are employed, part of their function is to help the churches, but even in the cases where there are such specialists the direct service of the executive and the office continues.

This work has been a gradual and natural development through the years. A church would find itself in difficulty. Perhaps the pastor was sick or a problem that could not be solved appeared. The most accessible place for such help was the city society. Having discovered that valuable assistance could be obtained from this source, churches continued to call upon it with increasing frequency, to their advantage. Such calls for assistance multiplied by from twenty-five to 200 churches has made the incidental a major activity. Because it is not written in the bond a number of the executives have come to feel that the large amount of time given to serving the churches ought to be spent on the recognized program of the societies. This service, however, is very important and holds great possibilities. It constantly leads the churches toward better institutional efficiency by helping them to reach higher standards of organization, program, and leadership. Nothing that the societies do has a more direct bearing on the development of an effective ministry of the denomination in the city.

In a particular sense this service is of importance to the non-episcopal denominations. It serves to supply a coordinating instrument and a counselling agent similar to that which the episcopacy has provided. This fact is appreciated particularly by congregationally governed churches. The results in strengthening denominational unity are clearly evident in all of the societies.

The particular services rendered by the city societies are legion. To tell about them all would make a fascinating story, but would be a book in itself. There is room here for only the briefest survey of these services under four general classifications.

CLASSIFICATION OF SERVICE

I. Assistance in connection with financial matters goes beyond the actual home-mission aid and reaches out to many churches that have not received aid.

1. Regular aid toward pastors' or missionaries' salaries and running expenses includes the service to the church or mission which necessarily accompanies the aid. This item was also included as a basis for comparing the service rendered to churches which received aid and those which did not.

2. Special grants or loans toward the cost of new buildings, the purchase of property, or the payment of debts entails a great deal of service in connection with the many problems involved.

3. Clearing applications for building aid from the denominational church building funds. Where city societies exist the denominational boards require their recommendations before aid will be given.

4. Assisting churches in establishing and maintaining credit—the societies are frequently called upon to intercede with the banks on behalf of churches desiring to borrow money. Because the society has much more property than a single church and because the bank has had more dealings with the society their intercession is usually effective. Sometimes the societies sign notes with the church, although the majority of the societies refuse to do this.

II. Help in connection with individual church problems forms the bulk of the service.

5. General supervision of program and organization is undertaken in cases where extreme difficulties exist within churches in adequately planning work that will minister to the neighborhood of the church.

6. Assistance in the financial organization and the every-member canvass is arranged as part of the gen-

eral program of some societies because the churches so frequently find it difficult to conduct their finances in a businesslike manner.

7. Assistance in carrying on special financial campaigns is called for occasionally because of inexperience on the part of a church in the methods of such an effort.

8. Consulting with church boards in connection with special problems of the church frequently occurs. The city society executives spend much time in responding to such calls.

9. Conferring with individuals regarding special problems within particular churches accounts for many of the calls which the executives receive. This may be a preliminary stage to consulting with church boards, or it may be a situation in which an individual in the church seeks advice as to how the church may grapple with a problem, or it may be a situation in which the executive will not appear, but will guide the church through some individual.

10. Consultation regarding the selection of a new pastor is evidence of great confidence in the executive. This is exceedingly important because it gives him opportunity to assist in developing a well-fitted and cooperative ministry in the city.

11. Providing the counsel of experts on particular phases of program—architects, specialists in religious education, experienced surveyors and the like, whom the city societies are in a position to call on when necessary.

III. Assistance in the program of individual churches is given in many ways and upon many occasions.

12. Conducting evangelistic services is a regular program with few of the executives. Others arrange for special services when they are requested to do so.

13. The executive sometimes acts as ad-interim

pastor, carrying the responsibility of preaching during the period of vacancy with the definite purpose of putting a church on its feet. At other times he assists in securing another for this service.

14. Emergency pulpit supply is frequent. Whenever a minister is sick or called out of the city or sometimes when he needs a vacation, he calls upon the executive of the society, who either preaches himself or provides a substitute.

15. Speaking on special occasions is another demand upon the executive. He attends all sorts of functions. When a church has used the executive overmuch the office will be requested to procure a speaker.

16. Providing outside speakers and special programs is done regularly through an informal speakers' bureau at the city society office.

IV. Work done by the city society office for churches is a regular service offered by a few of the organizations, but most of them do such things only in special cases.

17. Acting as receiving and distributing agency for the benevolence funds of the churches is a regular function of some societies. Others perform this function only in particular instances.

18. The societies usually act as treasurer for building or other accounts for mission churches which are erecting new structures. Sometimes all of the funds of an enterprise are paid in to and expended by the society office.

19. Mimeographing, multigraphing, and so forth, are done sometimes for the smaller churches which do not have equipment to produce such material or money to pay for having it done. This has proven a service of genuine value.

20. Ordering and distributing supplies such as du-

plex envelopes and the like is a service also rendered by a few societies.

GENERAL FACTS

The service to churches rendered by twenty-two societies of six denominations in six cities was completely inventoried. A list of all the churches of the society's denomination in the area was prepared. The executive checked each of the twenty types of service against every church. Roughly the service thus recorded was to have been rendered within the last decade. This is only an approximation, for what person can recall such details to within a few years after so long a time? Moreover, some of the executives had been fewer than ten years in their positions and such a checking must necessarily be based upon their own experience. In a few cases where the executive was new either office secretaries of long tenure or the former executive supplemented the record. When the staff included directors of religious education or social workers they were asked to indicate the service which had been rendered by them and their departments. In most cases the same churches were served. In a few cases the specialists served some churches which had not been otherwise helped. The most notable example of such service was found in the Department of Religious Education of the Chicago Baptist Association, which had served twenty churches that were not otherwise being served in from one to four ways. Nine of these were foreign-speaking, eight were small churches, six were small unsupported missions and seven were medium-sized independent churches.

In the areas covered by the twenty-two societies there were 1,871 churches of their respective denominations. A little more than 98 per cent., or all but thirty-one of these churches, were served by the societies. A total of 14,952 services were rendered, not counting repetition of the same type of service to the same church. This is an average

of 8.1 services per church. The average to aided churches is 9.4 and to unaided churches is 6.5.

UNSERVED CHURCHES

The few churches that were not served are of two kinds. First are the self-sufficient churches which do not need help. Some are larger churches that have numbers, equipment, money, and multiple staff. It should be noted, however, that many of the large wealthy churches have received service from the societies, such as speaking on special occasions, advising in connection with church problems and consulting regarding the selection of a pastor. Others in this group are smaller churches which take their independence very seriously.

The second group is composed of those churches which may need but do not want help from the city society. In fact they do not coöperate with the society in any way. Sometimes this is because they are reactionary in theology and assume that those who approach the work of the church in a sound and efficient manner must be too liberal to associate with; or they have had experiences with the society in the past in which they were refused aid, or they were advised by the society to do what they were unwilling to do and because they did not like the treatment they received they have become non-coöperative.

Seventeen of the twenty-two societies served every one of their churches. Only four societies served significantly fewer than the total of 98 per cent. of the churches. These were: Detroit Methodist Episcopal Society, 94.2 per cent.; Chicago Baptist, 92.6 per cent.; Detroit Presbyterian, 89 per cent., and the Chicago Disciples, 78.1 per cent. The last has a total of only thirty-two churches.

SERVICE TO AIDED AND UNAIDED CHURCHES

Of the total of 1,871 churches, 1,019, or 54.5 per cent., have received aid. The range among the societies is from 87.5 per cent. to 18.8 per cent. The societies which have

aided a much larger proportion of their projects than the average are Baptist, San Francisco; Presbyterian, San Francisco; Congregational, Chicago; Congregational, San Francisco; and Presbyterian, Cleveland. Those which have aided a much smaller proportion than the average are Methodist Episcopal, Pittsburgh; Presbyterian, Pittsburgh; Baptist, Chicago; Baptist, Pittsburgh; Methodist Episcopal, Cleveland; and Disciples, Chicago. All of the societies in San Francisco are in the high group and all of the societies in Pittsburgh are in the low group.

As would be expected, much more service has been given to the churches which were aided than to those which have not received aid. Of the total number of services, 64 per cent. were rendered to aided churches and 36 per cent. to unaided churches.[12] The important fact is that more than one-third of the services were given to independent, self-supporting churches which are in no sense projects of the societies. This is definite evidence that the societies are the integrating force of the work of a denomination in a city and that they are having relationships to churches through which ultimately they will be able to develop a constructive strategy in the city. The importance of the relationship is seen more clearly in the kind of service which the societies render to the independent churches. For example, a larger proportion of the services to independent churches consists in speaking on special occasions, conferring with individuals regarding special problems within particular churches, providing outside speakers and special programs, consultation regarding the selection of a new pastor, acting as receiving and distributing agency for benevolence funds, and ordering and distributing supplies. A larger proportion of the service to aided churches is that in direct connection with aid toward annual budgets and buildings.

It is significant that individuals from three-quarters (76.3 per cent.) of the unaided churches have conferred

[12] Cf. Appendix Table No. VIII for the basic data and statistics for this section.

with the societies concerning problems within their churches, which is slightly more than the percentage (74.4) in the case of the aided churches. Nearly two-thirds of the independent churches (62.9 per cent.) have consulted with the executives of the societies regarding the selection of a new pastor. This is only slightly less than in the case of aided churches (67.9 per cent.). The influence of the executive in manning the churches of the city is important.

A few differences in the relative frequency of items of service are found between denominations and between cities. These are all accounted for by certain inherent characteristics or circumstances and have no significance so far as the consideration of their respective importance is concerned.

RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF SERVICE

When the items of service are arranged in the order of the frequency of their occurrence an indication of their relative importance is obtained. This also shows the evolution of the service to the churches. In the main the services rendered most frequently indicate the types of assistance the societies first give to churches. In the cases where there are only one or two services, they are usually from among the most frequently occurring items. These would indicate that a church may begin to call on the society as a matter of simple convenience, but it is almost as likely to be when it is in a tight place and needs real help. The churches with the greater number of services tend to reach into the less frequent items.

Dividing the items of service into four groups of five each, those occurring most frequently are: Speaking on special occasions (item 15); conferring with individuals regarding special problems within particular churches (9); emergency pulpit supply (14); providing outside speakers and programs (16); and consultation regarding the selection of a new pastor (10).

The items of more than average frequency are: Consult-

ing with church boards in connection with special problems of the church (8); assistance in every-member canvass and financial organization (6); regular aid toward pastors' or missionaries' salaries and running expenses (1); acting as receiving and distributing agency for benevolence funds (17); providing counsel of experts on particular phases of program (11).

The items of less than average frequency are: Special grants or loans toward new buildings, lots, and debts (2); assistance in carrying on special financial campaigns (7); general supervision of program and organization (5); ordering and distributing supplies, such as duplex envelopes, etc. (20); and assisting churches in establishing and maintaining credit (4).

The items of least frequency and in consequence those that would be judged to be of the least relative importance are: Conducting evangelistic services (12); clearing applications for building aid from the denominations (3); mimeographing, multigraphing, etc. (19); acting as ad-interim pastor (13); and acting as treasurer for building and other accounts (18).

SUMMARY

Many romantic incidents lie hidden under this brief enumeration of the types of service the societies have provided the churches. There have been churches distraught and divided as a result of unfortunate pastoral leadership. The executive has assumed the responsibility of acting as ad-interim pastor. After a few weeks of his understanding leadership the whole atmosphere of the church has been changed. Other churches have had all their energy dissipated in trying to meet financial obligations. The society has helped develop a financial plan and organization, reëstablished their credit at the banks, and directed them to a revitalizing of their program. As a result a useful ministry to their communities has been reëstablished. Such

illustrations could be made specific and piled up at great length. The importance of any service to the church concerned may be a very different thing from the importance of the service in the work of the society.

There are three very significant aspects of the service to churches which the statistical analysis makes clear. First, there are many ways of serving the churches. Most churches received a number of different kinds of assistance. This gives the societies many opportunities of helping each one to be a better church. The result constantly raises the standard of institutional efficiency.

Second, the society is in definite and vital touch with more and more of its churches. To be of genuine assistance to a church is to establish confidence and influence. This service, going out to nearly all the churches, forms a common bond which draws them closer together, fostering a unity and morale and making an increasingly useful power out of the denominational forces in the city.

Third, the societies enter the life of the churches at crucial points. The most frequent items include some of the most significant services. When the executive is called into a church to speak or to preach he has the opportunity of relating the work of a church to the work of the whole denomination in the city. When he confers with individuals regarding special problems within the church his influence is multiplied because his ideas are taken into the church by one of its own people. When he is consulted regarding the selection of a pastor he can not only make suggestions, but can show the church the kind of man that is needed for that particular task and that will fit into the work of the denomination in the city, how to look for such a man, and how to tell whether a man is the right kind. Service is gradually developing into direction from a single point. This means that a machinery is growing which can wield the denominational forces in accordance with a definite comprehensive plan for churching the city.

General Activities

The general activities carried on by the city societies have a wide scope, as indicated by the list of the eight types given at the beginning of the chapter. In some activities, the churches together meet responsibilities which no one could meet alone; in others, the society does definite things for churches; in a few, things are done for the society. Many are recognized activities of the church stepped up to a city denominational level, to enlarge the fellowship and bring about a promotional and inspirational reaction to the activity in the local church. There is no standard program of activities for the city societies. Each has developed its own program based on the needs which have appeared, the particular bents of the executive, or the traditional set of the society. This analysis of activities points out what is usually done in connection with each type of work and indicates to what extent the activities are found among the societies studied.

EVANGELISM

The program of evangelism varies greatly with the societies. A few consider themselves especially responsible for the development of evangelism, while others do little that could be classified under such a heading. This is partly due to the emphasis of denominations and partly to the fact that in some denominations, notably the Methodist Episcopal, evangelism is carried on by other agencies.

Promotion of Evangelism: Twenty-two of the thirty-one societies whose general programs were studied engaged in promoting evangelism in some way. Half of these indicated that they urged the churches to give due place in their program to a definite evangelistic effort of some kind. They distributed literature promoting evangelism. They emphasized the pre-Easter season as an appropriate time for ingathering. Sometimes they went so far as to make a

definite round of the churches speaking in behalf of evangelism.

In most cases, however, the general promotion of evangelism carried forward specific programs. Nine of the societies developed unified programs which they asked the churches to carry forward simultaneously. These were often supplemented by special meetings or conferences in which all the churches might participate. The programs varied from simply trying to get each church to have one definitely evangelistic service a month to a very highly-developed program of visitation evangelism, or loyalty crusade.

In the case of four societies the program was developed by the local ecclesiastical body of the denomination and carried forward by the society. Eight of the societies accepted the interdenominational program of the council of churches and participated in and promoted that among their churches.

Part of the promotional program, in a few instances, included an exchange of pastors on some Sunday designated for the consideration of evangelism, giving counsel to churches in working out programs suited to their situations, and collecting annual statistics of the results of evangelistic programs in the increase of church membership.

Special Meetings: Closely allied to the promotional efforts in evangelism are certain special occasions which are arranged by the societies for the participation of all of the churches. These are noted separately because they have a distinct additional importance. They contribute materially to the development of interchurch fellowship within the denomination. Five societies note such events.

One society has a monthly fellowship meeting at which members of different churches have the opportunity of becoming acquainted. At these gatherings programs and problems of the denomination and the churches are presented and discussed.

Another society conducts rallies for groups of churches to

consider the importance and the problems of evangelism and to enlist support of the people in such work.

Several societies, in one form or another, have conferences for the training of church-workers in evangelistic procedures such as personal work, visitation, teaching, and the like.

The most unique program of this kind has been developed by the Presbyterian society in Chicago. Once a year an all-day meeting for the men of the churches is held. In addition the men arrange inter-church communion services at ten centers throughout the area.

Help for Churches: Six of the societies furnish evangelists for series of meetings in different churches. Formerly several other societies also did this. Two of them employed men part time for this work. In some cases the executive himself makes a business of holding such meetings for several churches during each year.

Three societies do an analogous service in organizing local churches to carry on their own program of visitation evangelism. The Baptist society in Los Angeles employs two women missionary evangelists, both experienced in parish work, who are loaned to a church for a certain period to organize a program of evangelism and to develop the general organization of the church.

Moving Church-members: What might become a very important feature of the program of evangelism was mentioned by only two societies. This is tracing the moving church-member. The Methodist society in Cleveland secures the names and addresses of members of the churches of that denomination who have changed their residence within the city. It undertakes to induce the church in their new neighborhood to make a special effort to enlist these people in membership and activity. The Presbyterian society in Los Angeles receives the names and addresses of people who have come to the city from other parts of the country and forwards them to the Presbyterian church near which they have located.

Retreats: Perhaps the most important item in the gen-

eral program of evangelism is the holding of retreats, which are usually for pastors, though sometimes pastors and church officers meet together. Usually programs cover two or three days and are held at some place away from the city, where those in attendance live together for the period. For the most part strong programs of addresses and discussion on vital subjects are arranged. Often a program for the church year is planned. These events have had a marked effect in strengthening the denominational work in the cities.

One society holds such retreats for the pastors of their foreign-speaking churches and another holds a monthly half-day conference for these pastors.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

The general program of religious education is one of the most important phases of work in the city societies. Where such a program has been undertaken and developed it has loomed so large that it is difficult to realize that less than half of the societies studied have developed this phase of the program. However, certain societies do not operate in this field because the ecclesiastical organization of their denomination has such a program.

The key to this activity is in its organization. The total thirty-one societies whose programs were studied may be divided into three groups. Eleven of the societies have well-developed programs of religious education. Seven of these have full-time directors, two of whom have assistants for field work. The remaining four have active and efficient volunteer committees. A second group of eleven societies have neither programs nor committees because the work is carried on by the ecclesiastical organization, usually state. Most of these state bodies have full-time directors of religious education, part of whose time is given to the city. In the remaining nine situations there is no general religious education program.

The most highly-developed programs are, of course, where paid directors are used. The maximum program is

the basis of the following analysis. Where ecclesiastical organizations carry the responsibility, programs are similar, but the work is neither so extensive nor so well-developed as the maximum program because of the limited time which state directors are able to give to the cities. The volunteer committees, under local directors, reach as far as possible toward the full scope of the work, and in a number of cases have succeeded remarkably well.

The religious education program may be divided into several groups of activities.

Leadership Training: The largest part of the program has to do in some way with the training of leaders. Leadership training schools, in accordance with the standards of the International Council of Religious Education, are conducted for teachers and officers in the church schools of the denomination. Where there are interdenominational schools the denominational directors or committees coöperate and assist in planning, promotion, and operation. Usually the directors teach classes in these schools.

An analogous situation prevails in the case of the training of teachers for vacation schools. Here, however, there is more definite responsibility for enlisting people who will take the training and become teachers in the schools.

Frequently directors organize and conduct classes for the training of teachers in individual churches. The standard requirements for number of sessions permit them to do this for several churches each season.

In some cases there are schools similar to the standard schools, but either broader or narrower in their scope. In one society, where there is no director, a committee holds a School of Religion with classes in citizenship, denominational history and organization, the work of foreign missions and of home missions, the redemption of the city, and so forth. Another society holds a School of Evangelism in which people are trained in the modern methods of evangelism.

A number of items represent more limited training—in-

stitutes for church school workers to discuss problems and methods, and conferences for particular groups, sometimes missionary leaders, and occasionally superintendents.

Each year many of the religious education leaders and teachers come under the influence of these training programs. In the course of years marked effects have been recorded upon the methods of the church schools and the standard of their work.

Promotion and Development of Particular Programs: The directors and the committees are always endeavoring to expand religious education in the churches. Consequently they promote vacation schools, week-day schools, mission study classes, and pastors' training or communicant classes. They go beyond simply urging the churches to add these to their programs—working out programs and obtaining workers and sometimes helping to meet the cost.

Rallies are conducted to promote general interest in church schools. Large attendance from all of the churches is urged for these gatherings, which have special programs and occasionally outside speakers.

The directors do a great deal of speaking and the office frequently has an informal speakers' bureau to assist churches in special programs.

Service to Church Schools: One of the more difficult but fruitful items of work is assisting churches to have better church schools. Directors visit and observe schools, and subsequently meet with the teachers and officers, making suggestions for improvements. If they are specially invited to do so, they make studies of the organizations and programs of a school and sometimes take administrative responsibility for putting a reorganization program into effect. This has been the special task of the field worker in the two societies which have them.

The directors are frequently consulted in connection with all sorts of specific problems of the church schools, in arranging for the efficient use of their buildings and equipment, and in planning new religious education plants. This

has been an unobtrusive but important service. It provides the service of an expert in religious education for the smaller churches that are entirely unable to have directors of their own, which is one of the main purposes of the society in having directors.

Coöperation: The directors of religious education are very active in coöperative programs. They are the mainstays of city councils of religious education. A large part of their activity is planned and carried out coöperatively on a city-wide basis.

They also coöperate with the state and national religious education organizations of their denomination and with the state young people's organization.

Special Items: Most societies have particular interests which lead to the development of unique items of program. Several offices have accumulated workers' libraries of the best up-to-date books on religious education for circulation among church school workers. Another society has particularly emphasized and developed the use of drama. One of the directors has been made responsible for the publications of the society.

A few societies assist in carrying on student work in universities within their areas. The best program of this kind is in Los Angeles, where the different denominations, especially those having societies, coöperate with Roman Catholics and Jews in a united religious work, with a very fine building and staff at the University of California at Los Angeles.

The possibilities of a general program of religious education are by no means entirely explored. Directors have given splendid service. Where well-developed religious education programs are found they are the strongest elements in the programs of the city societies. Many churches and much of the constituency have become enthusiastic supporters of the societies because of their appreciation of these programs. This work would seem to be an essential part of the program in every city society.

SOCIAL SERVICE

The largest part of the social work for which the city societies are responsible is carried on through the projects which they support. Much of the program of the neighborhood houses, Christian centers, and various institutions, as well as some of the work in the more highly-developed aided churches, would come under this classification. Inasmuch as this study does not go into the work of the projects, this analysis of social work must be confined to that which the societies do directly.

The items of social work included in the programs of the women's departments will be described in connection with their activities.

In denominational ministers' meetings, for which societies often provide the programs, discussions of major social issues and problems, both in their general aspects and in their implications for the city, are occasionally presented.

The social service of the societies is described under three heads, social workers, direct service to individuals, and special activities.

Social Workers: Seven societies have general social workers. One worker gives part time to helping immigrants just arriving in the city. Another is a half-time worker for Christian Americanization in connection with churches and missions. This includes getting churches interested in the foreign-speaking people, conducting English classes, and much case work in all sorts of family and individual problems. Two serve, or are loaned to, mission churches, to study the community and help to organize the church for community service. Another conducts a "playright club" in several churches.

The City Missionary Society of the Congregationalists in Boston has developed the most unique program under this classification. Twenty-four full-time and four part-time missionaries are employed. These missionaries are responsible to the superintendent and are attached to va-

rious churches. About one-third of their time is spent in connection with the organizations and services of their churches, but their major interest is family case work. Each missionary has from one hundred to six hundred families which she serves as needs require. Most of the service is helping to solve the family problems. Small relief funds are provided to meet unusual needs. The missionaries are women with some social work training. They are friendly people whose usefulness has become very great because of their spirit and experience.

Another type of social worker employed by the societies is the court worker. In a number of cities, notably Chicago, this work is carried on coöperatively by several denominations in the larger program of the church federations. The societies either contribute to the federation program or employ workers who operate under the federation plan.

In the Baptist society in Cleveland the director of the Christian Center gives part of his time to court work for Negroes, and the executive secretary himself takes care of the needs of others, especially the foreign-speaking people.

In Pittsburgh this type of work has had the largest development. All of the societies have full or part-time workers to do case work in connection with the problems emerging from the Morals Court. The general administration of this work is under a full-time worker paid by the church federation. She distributes the cases to the denominational workers after her preliminary work in the court itself.

Another type of social worker is the chaplain in institutions. Here again much of the service is done through the church federations, but some of the societies, notably those of the Protestant Episcopal denomination, have particularly emphasized this work. For example, the Protestant Episcopal society in Boston has six hospital and prison chaplains, most of them on part time, who regularly visit twenty hospitals and serve from 25,000 to 30,000 different

patients per year. The Presbyterian society in Pittsburgh has a part-time chaplain in the U. S. Veterans Hospital.

Service to Individuals: Relief work is usually done through the social workers. Several societies have stimulated the churches to care for the problem in their parishes. One society has given small amounts of money to its parishes for the purpose. Another society has the privilege of calling on the larger churches up to a certain amount for needs which the executive discovers.

Several societies arrange for and distribute Thanksgiving and Christmas baskets. Some have tried to get jobs for unemployed and a few have given clothing to the unemployed. Three of the societies have made special efforts to meet the appeals of unemployed ministers during the recent years.

Fresh air activities have for the most part been carried by the institutions. Three societies, however, have definite schemes for giving brief outings to people who would not otherwise get them. The Baptist society in Boston takes from 400 to 500 people per year for outings and picnics by groups.

Another form of service to individuals is scholarships. Five of the societies employ students from adjacent theological seminaries for part-time services in their projects. This is by way of securing additional workers, providing a laboratory for the students, and giving the students help toward their education.

Scholarships are provided by societies that have summer camps to help boys and girls who cannot pay or who can pay only in part for the cost of the camp privileges.

In one society the women's department sends a group of girls to a training school each year, the young people's city organization sends one of its own group to college, and the men's group helps students in college that are looking toward the ministry.

Another society enables one of its missionaries each year to secure a special six weeks' training during the summer.

Special Social Service Activities: A number of the societies have unique features in their social service programs. These are mentioned to indicate the breadth which obtains in this kind of activity.

The Baptist society in Los Angeles contributes three special features. For several years it has helped a club with weekly meetings for professional or working girls. It gives counsel to girls and provides them with a meeting place and arranges for sick relief. This society also holds a trust fund to be used toward the development of a hospital especially for women and children. Another trust fund is in the making to be used toward the establishment of an orphans' home.

The Presbyterian society in Los Angeles has two special features. Ministers participate in a group insurance plan which provides for funeral expenses by means of assessments. The society has also been very active in the development of a home for aged and incapacitated ministers and their wives.

The Unitarian society in Boston has a Fruit and Flower Mission, with a part-time worker, which gathers fruit, both fresh and canned, and flowers for distribution to the sick in hospitals, to shut-ins, and to the poor and needy. This work has now been going on for sixty-two years.

The Congregational society in Chicago has the most unique activity. It supports a worker in the industrial community of South Chicago who has hung in his office window a sign bearing the inscription "Common Ground." Not only are countless cases of individual difficulty helped, but there is an outreach to influence fundamental legislation and policies which will remove the causes of difficulty. This worker carries forward an educational program of social justice in church and civic organizations. He travels to the legislative halls in the interests of relief, unemployment, and old-age pensions. He is active in every direct and fundamental problem of the adjustments of life.

WOMEN'S WORK

In most phases of church life the women have developed the best-organized and most active work. This is true in the denominations in the city. In all of the situations studied there were city-wide denominational organizations of the women's missionary societies of the churches. In most cases these antedate and are independent of the city societies.

This is both an advantage and a disadvantage. It provides a strong city-wide organization of the women of the denomination, but often preëmpts the field for a women's department for the society. In some cases the work has been so coördinated that the independent women's organization functions as a department of the city society. Such coördination is more or less effectively worked out with fourteen of the city societies. Ten societies have women's departments strictly of their own. These vary from women's auxiliaries connected with major projects which have come to have certain general responsibilities, to departments in which the women of all the churches are represented or participate, which are in touch with the whole field of the societies' activities, and which in a few cases have paid executives of their own who both administer the department and supervise its work.

While the work of a women's department and coördinated organizations is in no case fully developed, a composite picture of their efforts shows them doing work of four different types, publicity and promotion, raising money, providing women workers, directing volunteer service.

Publicity and Promotion: As a direct instrument of publicity and promotion for the work of the city societies the women's departments do their most far-reaching service. The usual plan is to have one woman designated as a definite representative in each church. She becomes a sort of go-between through whom contacts are constantly kept alive.

The executives of the societies usually speak at regular meetings of the women, giving them information about plans, projects, and results and also conveying to them ideas in connection with the philosophy of city work. The women representatives carry this information to their respective churches, sometimes to many of the church groups. They also carry back to their general meeting, to the superintendent, and to the board of directors, through their representation on the board, ideas, suggestions, criticisms, and encouragement from the churches.

Great possibilities are latent in this part of the women's work. A group of women really interested in a program will stick to it and see that it is put across.

Raising Money: The women's departments frequently raise a good deal of money. Occasionally they take over responsibility for certain parts of the work and have their own budgets for which they raise the funds. At other times they pledge certain amounts to the total budget of the society. Occasionally they raise additional money for special purposes.

The women's departments secure their money in a variety of ways—sometimes by dues from members, individuals, or women's societies, as the case may be; or again, by solicitation of contributions from individuals, women's societies, other groups in the churches and from church funds. To obtain money for special purposes sometimes they conduct a bazaar, as one women's department did, to raise funds toward the expenses of a camp for children from the mission centers.

Providing Women Workers: The favorite part of the city mission work selected by the women for their task is support of women workers at neighborhood houses and institutional churches. This leads to helping to pay for certain programs in which the women workers are interested.

The Presbyterian society in Pittsburgh has worked out the most extensive program of this kind. The women's presbyterial missionary organization is independent, but

their programs are well coördinated. The women have their own budget, which amounts to around $17,000. This they collect and expend through their own treasurer. They support seventeen workers and a general supervisor of the work. To a much smaller extent several other women's groups work along the same lines.

Direct Volunteer Service: Another important work of the women's departments is direct volunteer service. They enlist the service of women and occasionally men as teachers in church schools or in other classes, in the programs for kindergarten work, and for the leadership of boys' and girls' clubs, in the missions and institutions.

They have regular sewing days when groups of women meet to make things for use in the projects. Certain supplies and equipment are furnished in this way. They make layettes for poor women in the neighborhoods of the missions and clothing for needy families.

The women also plan and carry out social events for groups in the institutions or missions in which the people from the neighborhood mingle with people from the other churches. This sort of thing has great value in the development of friendship and mutual understanding.

YOUNG PEOPLE'S WORK

Most of the societies touch young people's work in some way. In practically every case, however, it is a second-hand contact. The young people's organizations, be they denominational as the Baptist Young Peoples Union, the Epworth League, etc., or interdenominational, as the Christian Endeavor, are exceedingly jealous for their own programs and organizations. Most of them have city-wide organizations which undertake to develop work among the young people. In a few cases these organizations are recognized as young people's departments and integrated into the whole program of the city societies.

Where there are directors or strong committees of re-

ligious education, more definite relationships are found and more specific assistance and direction can be given.

Two societies have definitely organized young people's departments. Three have no young people's work. In a number of situations conference or district religious education organizations foster the young people's work. About half of the societies studied give definite help to the young people's program.

Several features of program are frequently found. Denominational young people's summer conferences are promoted, and in a few cases conducted. City-wide rallies are held. The denominational young people's program is promoted, and meetings for city-wide social fellowship are arranged. Directors of religious education and officers of the city-young people's organizations advise the young people's groups in the churches and assist them in planning programs. Leaders are secured and trained. Special projects, such as taking religious services to jails and hospitals or conducting a city-wide win-my-friend week, are planned. Association in city-wide activities of young people of all denominations under the church federations is encouraged.

The less frequent activities include such things as organizing young people's societies, carrying on athletic competition, making regular visitation among the young people's societies.

In one case young people are taken on field trips to learn about the city. In another case the young people carry out a specific plan to promote the work of the city society.

BOYS' AND GIRLS' WORK

The development of boys' and girls' clubs in the churches is accepted as a definite responsibility by a few of the societies. In most cases this is also a part of the religious education program.

One society has a director of girls' work and uses theological students to conduct boys' clubs in a number of their

mission churches. Two other societies have directors of boys' work.

The work consists chiefly in helping churches to organize boys' and girls' clubs and in providing and training leaders. In a few cases the women's departments promote the organization of boys' and girls' missionary societies in the churches.

SUMMER CAMPS

The city societies have become interested in summer camps because through their mission churches and neighborhood houses they have found a great need for getting boys and girls away from the city and into a helpful environment. Ten of the societies studied own one to three camps and two rent camps. In two societies churches have camps. Three societies make use of camps belonging to the state denominational organization. One society sends boys to various camps under other auspices.

Three societies in addition have rest homes, where mothers and little children are sent for summer outings. One society, in addition to its own two camps, is closely associated with several private camps.

Boys and girls are taken for periods of from one to three weeks. The cost varies from nothing except transportation to and from the camp to around twenty dollars a week. In the more expensive camps there is provision made for helping boys and girls to meet the cost.

Summer camps form a major part of the activities of the Congregational society in Boston. At their camp for girls, camp for boys, and rest home for mothers and children one recent year they had fifty councillors and 611 campers, who enjoyed a total of 1,519 camp weeks. The charge is ten dollars per week, but many were assisted by scholarships.

SURVEY AND RESEARCH

Survey and research are envisaged as an essential process in the work of the city societies by all of the executives; but

only two-thirds of the societies studied had done anything about it. In most of these only more or less superficial study had been undertaken, largely by the executive in connection with particular problems and projects. The directors of religious education have done quite thorough work in the study of particular church schools which they have undertaken to reorganize. In connection with the establishment of new churches in recent years attempts to learn something about the new community and its needs have usually been made.

The societies of Chicago have done really constructive work in this field through the United Survey. This has been possible chiefly because the Congregational society has had sufficient resources to establish and maintain a very excellent department of survey and research. The theological seminaries of the major denominations have cooperated, and the societies have furnished enough money to do a cumulative job on a coöperative basis.

OTHER ACTIVITIES

Many incidental activities are to be found in single societies meeting some particular need or following some particular interest.

One society has developed a men's council, which promotes the organization of men's clubs in the churches, carries out a definite program of activities related to the work of the churches, fosters and supports the work of the society and has several general meetings each year.

A number of the societies in one way or another act as clearing houses for church methods. They pass on to the churches new ideas which have been successfully tried at some place. This is done through ministers' meetings or by means of letters or bulletins.

In several cases there is coöperation with city denominational social unions. These have generally been absorbed into the societies or coördinated with them. The programs

are continued. They consist in several dinners or evening receptions during the year which provide opportunity for fellowship to the people of the denomination in the city.

SUMMARY

The general program of the societies reveals a wide range of activities. They are composed of things which the societies did not set out to do, but which they have found it desirable to do in response to the many needs that have come to their attention as their ideas of the field of city society work have broadened through the years.

The relative value of the activities cannot be estimated because circumstances vary from city to city and from society to society. For example, religious education may be a well-developed program of one denomination in one city, while the same denomination in another city may find that its conservative constituency even shys when it hears the term religious education. Each society has worked out its own salvation with the resources available against the opportunities it faced.

Two comments, however, can be made. First, some activities are much more far-reaching than others. They are at the same time broad enough to include all of the denominational interests in the city and penetrating enough to get down into the individual churches and institutions. Secondly, some societies have much more purposeful and coordinated programs than others. They have perhaps passed beyond the restrictions of opportunities.

Chapter Summary

The work of the denominational city societies is genuinely impressive. The quantity and variety of their activity establishes their importance. They have made a real place for themselves in the denominational ministry to urban life. Two questions, however, remain to be answered. First, do they express the ideas which have emerged in their history?

Second, what have they accomplished in the direction of the goals for the adequate churching of the city?

The answers to these questions await the consideration of further data about the societies. They will be found in chapter v. The discussion now proceeds to the machinery of the society, how they carry out their activities.

Chapter IV

ORGANIZATION AND PROCEDURE

Simplicity is the keynote of the organization that has been set up to take care of the activities described in the last chapter. Throughout their history the city societies have been under the necessity of getting things done with the greatest possible facility. Staff and time have never been sufficient to handle complicated machinery. Simplicity has been attained in either one of two ways. Usually the organization has been built up by a process of accretion. Each committee required by a new function has been added on to that which was already there. This has made organization without structural plan, but it has worked. The structure appears to be complicated but from a functional standpoint it is simple. In other cases a simple organizational plan has been adopted and new functional committees have been fitted into the plan. Here the organization is more simple, but the functional relationships sometimes become difficult. However, this way has also worked very well.

In a few instances complicated organization has been set up only to be found impractical because of loss of energy in working the machinery. Even in the societies that have a multiple staff, maintenance of facility of function and freedom of staff members for personal service has been the prime consideration, which has kept the more extensive organizations also simple.

This chapter considers the constitutions and by-laws of the societies as the documentary bases of their organization, the structure and organization as the actual machinery

which does the work, the personnel as those who make the machinery go, and finance as both the support and the tool of the societies.

Constitution and By-Laws

Little that is distinctive is found in the constitutions and by-laws of the city societies. A composite of the constitutions studied shows the usual items, sections dealing with name, purpose, place of business, term of the corporation, membership, officers and methods of election, meetings, duties of boards and officers and committees, seal, quorum, and amendments.

The similarity of the constitutions rests more in their simplicity and practical form than in actual likeness. Each is fitted to the needs of the individual situation. More similarity exists between the constitutions of the societies of the same denomination, showing the influence of past experience in older societies on those started later.

These constitutions have been exceedingly flexible, as is indicated by the many changes which they have undergone through the years. The twenty societies, concerning which data were gathered on this point, had made seventy significant changes. Twelve changes were in specifications of membership; nine in connection with the make-up of executive bodies and committees, and the same number in connection with their duties; eight of the changes were in name, and eight in purpose; six changes dealt with some phase of finance, six with officers, their election, duties, etc.; four increased the geographical area covered by the society; four dealt with some phase of relationships, and the balance were scattered over items of less importance.

Purpose

As was intimated in the discussion of historical evolution in the first chapter, the statements of purpose in the constitutions vary widely. These statements do not pretend to cover the field of activity, nor do they limit the societies

in their expansion. Two types of statement are found. The first records a series of specific things which the society is to do. Most statements of this type are not inclusive. For those that attempt to be so the statements are strung out to great length. The second type uses brief general statements which would include almost anything. The constitution of the Cleveland Baptist society illustrates the best of these. "The purpose of this Association shall be the promotion of the cause of the Christian religion through the coöperation of the churches in accord with the doctrines of the Baptist denomination and the advancement of all the interests of said denomination in Cuyahoga County, Ohio."

Such a general statement of purpose better fits the character of the societies as they function at the present time, but it becomes necessary to interpret it in more definite terms for promotional purposes.

The purposes, to meet the technical requirements of incorporation, include statements to the effect that the societies shall have power to receive and dispense funds and to purchase, hold, sell, encumber, etc., any real or personal property.

MEMBERSHIP

The composition of the membership designates three different types of societies. First are those which are made up of individuals. Three of this kind were found. In one society the membership consists of a self-perpetuating group of individuals. In another all of the church-members of the denomination in the city are considered members. The other is made up of those who pay membership dues.

In the second type membership is composed of the regularly elected delegates of the churches. A majority of the societies are of this kind—twenty-three of those studied. All but four of these have members in addition to the delegates. Three societies have delegates and contributors.

One has delegates, contributors, and ministers. One has delegates, contributors, ministers, and certain coöpted members, such as denominational officials or representatives from coöperating agencies. Six societies have delegates and ministers. Six more have delegates, ministers, and coöpted members. One has delegates and coöpted members.

The third type is composed of societies which are part of the ecclesiastical organizations. In these the members are those elected by the ecclesiastical body. There are eight of this kind, all of the Presbyterian societies, the United Presbyterian society, and the Protestant Episcopal society in Detroit. Three of the eight, in addition to their elected members, have certain coöpted ex-officio members.

UNIQUE FEATURES

The constitutions of a few of the societies have unique features which are significant enough to be mentioned. The Presbyterian society in Chicago has a set of seven rules concerning applications for aid. These rules cover payment of salaries, making of applications and reports, and requirements for the coöperation of aided churches.

The Baptist society in Cleveland has included in its constitution an article of six long paragraphs dealing with the handling of the property of the association, the transfer of property to churches, restrictions and the like. This is the most complete statement concerning property relations between the society and the churches.

The Cleveland Congregational society has two interesting features. It provides that in case of controversy the delegations from each church shall have but one vote. It is the only society which includes in its constitution a statement of faith quoting that which was adopted by the National Council of Congregational Churches at Kansas City, Missouri, October, 1913.

The by-laws of the Pittsburgh Baptist society provide for departmental organization. Three vice-presidents are

each in charge of a department serving as general chairman of the standing committees of their departments. The three divisions are: property and special fund interests, missionary interests, and religious and missionary education and social-service work.

The Presbyterian societies get their charter from the rules of the presbytery. In most cases the societies are granted full power to act in all matters entrusted to them, but all acts may be reviewed and reversed on appeal by presbytery. To obtain this power in some cases the societies have had a long battle with their presbyteries, but now it is generally conceded that they could not function satisfactorily without it.

FORMAL COMPACTS AND AGREEMENTS

The city societies have only a small number of formal compacts and agreements. In most relationships, informal or gentlemen's agreements suffice. Some of the formal agreements deal with arrangements between the society and the denominational board of home missions in which the society has a different relationship than other societies of the denomination, or in which the board agrees to do special things for the society.

A few formal agreements are between societies and denominational state boards covering joint participation in projects or an unusual arrangement for collection and distribution of benevolence funds from the churches.

In a few cases there are agreements between two societies of different denominations in the same city under which they hold property together or engage jointly in certain enterprises. The best example of this is the agreement between the Congregational and Presbyterian societies in Chicago, under which they conduct coöperatively a number of neighborhood houses. One agreement is between two societies of the same denomination in the same city in which complementary activities are agreed upon.

Structure and Organization

Plan of Organization

Inasmuch as the organization of each society was developed to meet local conditions, it is difficult to make a comparative analysis of organizational structure. In most societies there is no definite structural plan. A few follow a simple plan of departmentalization. In either case organization follows what appeared to be the functional requirements to those who were carrying on the societies. There is one clue to the analysis of the underlying structure.

There are three distinct levels of committees. First are the executive boards, responsible for the administration of all of the affairs of the societies. On the second level are committees charged with the administration of the major functions. These are in effect departments, even though in most cases they are not considered as such. The lowest level are the sub-committees under the departments, which have charge of specific tasks or projects.

What actually has happened is that in societies which recognize no departmentalization all the committees of both lower levels are directly responsible to the executive boards. This results in a conglomeration of committees which have equal status but are entirely unequal in the extent and type of their responsibility. Under such a set-up coördination in the societies' work becomes largely accidental.

In the few societies that have definite departmentalization it was found that some departments have become semi-independent in the conduct of their own activities, sometimes even partially financing their work. The sub-committees belong to the departments and are not considered in the structural plan of the organization. As a result, lists of committees provided by the executives omitted many of those on the lowest level. The departmental organization is the obvious and simple way where a multiple staff exists. Where, however, there is a single executive such an organization seems to be complicated, to have many difficulties

of administration, and to necessitate using committee members on many different committees. As a result, they stick to "doing things" and get along with what they think is simple organization and the complications they are used to.

As a matter of fact a large proportion of the societies fall between these extremes with a sort of accidental departmentalization for some of the major functions, which have by the very nature of their growing importance become semi-independent.

Additional complications are experienced in the relationship of the ecclesiastical and missionary functions, when combined in a single organization. The functions are carried on separately except that the executive directs them all. The missionary is the largest part of the work. Coordination and integration are for the most part lacking. Sometimes a major function like religious education, which is usually part of the city society work, is directly related to the ecclesiastical part of the organization.

Six societies have definite departmental organizations. Eleven more are in effect single departments by virtue of the fact that their programs are limited to what would be included in the strict sphere of church extension. Five societies have traces of departmentalization in that some functions have been specially prominent. The remaining seven societies have completely scrambled and uncoördinated organizations.[1]

COMMITTEES

The executives of twenty-nine societies listed 357 committees in the organization of their societies. A number of sub-committees were forgotten and in a few instances committees that existed only on paper were included. This gives, however, a fair idea of the extent of the organization. It is an average of twelve committees per society and the range is from two to forty-four. The total membership of

[1] Appendix Chart I gives a basic plan for departmental organization.

338 of these committees was 2,847, an average of nine per committee.

APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES

Twenty-four of the administrative boards (by whatever name they were known) were elected by the societies, and the remaining five were elected by the ecclesiastical body. In five societies members were elected for one year, in three for two years, and in twenty-one for three years. The usual custom is to elect one-third of the board every year for a three-year term. In a number of societies there are conditions covering the reëlection of members to insure a constant inflow of new blood. Either a year must elapse before reëlection or only a certain proportion of the members whose terms expire can be reëlected.

In all other committees the term of membership was one year. In one case the committee members were elected by the society. In two the chairmen were elected. In all others both chairmen and members were appointed by the executive boards or by the presidents.

DISTRIBUTION OF COMMITTEES

All of the societies have administrative boards. The average membership of these is twenty-eight and the range is from twelve to sixty. In addition, twelve societies have executive committees with an average membership of eleven, and eight have trustees or directors, the average number of whom is twenty-six. Twenty societies have thirty-four sub-committees related to administrative problems and processes. The committees are legal, publicity, nominating and the like.

All but two societies have finance committees on the departmental level. Eighteen societies have thirty-three subcommittees on particular aspects of finance such as investments, real estate, loans, church budgets and so forth.

Sixteen societies carry on their main business of home-

mission aid by church extension or missionary committees on the departmental level. The balance of the societies handle it in their executive boards. The Congregational society in Chicago has divided this work under six departments with the titles, Churches to be Developed, Churches with New Buildings and Growing Programs, Inner City, Institutional Churches, and Negro Churches. Eleven societies have fifteen sub-committees of a general nature such as architecture, church location, and ministerial support. Sixty-three sub-committees deal with specific projects in nineteen societies. Another group of seventeen sub-committees in twelve societies should be included with this work. They are charged with various aspects of planning, survey, fields, new work, and so forth.

Social work has few if any committees that could be considered on the departmental level. The nineteen committees in sixteen societies have special purposes, such as Americanization, relief, moral welfare, recreation, boys' work, and so forth. Five of the committees in three societies have charge of summer camps.

The religious education committees in thirteen societies are on the departmental level. In only two cases were sub-committees in religious education listed. One department has four and the other fourteen.

Evangelism committees are found in twelve societies, women's departments in five, and young people's departments in two.

Eight societies conduct periodic social affairs through separate social union organizations whose work has been coördinated, or by carrying on, under their own committees, the functions of such organizations.

A final group includes a miscellaneous list of twenty-one committees in nine societies that are concerned with some phase of relationships, either within the denomination or between denominations. Committees on comity, church coöperation, and the like are included.

Personnel

PAID STAFF

The paid staff of thirty societies totaled 155 persons, fourteen of whom were on part time. The average number of persons to a society is brought up to five by the large number of social workers considered as staff in two of the Boston societies. These have no parallels in the other societies. The modal number of staff is two. Next to the mode is a group with five persons in it, but the number of societies in this group is far fewer than the number in the modal group. Three societies have but one paid official and one society has thirty-three, four of whom are on part time. Of the total number sixty are men and ninety-four are women. Twenty different positions or functions are represented in the total paid staff.

The administrative positions are held by thirty executive secretaries or superintendents, three of whom serve only part time; by three assistant executives, and by five financial secretaries. All of these are men.

The largest group is composed of those who do the office work of the societies. Twenty-six are office secretaries, all but one of them on full time and all of them women. In addition, there are eleven women stenographers. Twelve societies have bookkeepers, of whom two are men. Three women have the task of operating the telephone, giving information, meeting callers and making appointments as well as incidentally helping in the work of the office. One society has a woman file clerk.

A small number would be classified as department executives. Seven are directors of religious education, all men. Two of these have the assistance of women field workers. Three women give their time to the direction of the work of women's departments. One society has a director and associate director of research and survey. Both of them are men and serve part time. One society has a man superintendent of buildings and construction.

The fourth group is composed of those paid staff members who perform special functions. Thirty-seven are social workers, of which one is a man hospital visitor. Five are men chaplains in institutions. Three men are directors of boys' work. One woman is director of girls' work. There is one camp director. One man edits the society's paper, and one society has a woman children's worker.

The executives of the city societies are among the most capable and effective men to be found in the church. They are well-trained men of sympathetic personalities, good understanding, and well-balanced judgment. Twenty-nine of the thirty executives are ordained ministers. The one layman has been in his position for twenty-seven years and is more versed in ecclesiastical requirements and procedure than most ministers. All of the ministers but one have full ministerial training in college and theological seminary. The exception has compensated for lack of seminary training by special graduate work. Nine of the secretaries have had special training or graduate work.

These executives are also men of experience. All of the ministers have had pastoral experience of from nine to thirty-eight years or an average of eighteen years each. Eleven of them have had an average of eight years' experience in other administrative positions. Five of them have had an average of four years in other kinds of work, Y.M.C.A., social work, and business.

For the most part, the city societies keep their executives for a long time. The thirty executives at the time of the study had served in their present positions a total of 271 years, or an average of nine each. This in spite of the fact that a number of men of long service had recently been replaced by new secretaries, which makes the modal tenure from one to five years. Ten men had been there more than ten years, five more than fifteen, and two more than twenty.

Most of the twenty-six office secretaries are unusually capable women who serve not only with efficiency but also with devotion. They, too, have been in their positions for

long terms. In fact, in eleven societies the office secretaries have been longer on the job than the executives and in a few of the cases very much longer. The average tenure has been eight and one-half years. Four of the office secretaries have held their positions from one to five years; sixteen, from five to ten years; three, from ten to fifteen years; one, between fifteen and twenty years; and two, more than twenty years.

COMMITTEE PERSONNEL

To find out what kind of people actively participated in the affairs of the city societies, certain information was obtained concerning 1,429 individual committee members in twenty-nine societies. This information included the number of committees of which each person was a member, sex, age, occupation, and the number of years in service. These statistical data, however, do not tell the whole story. It was discovered that the quality of these people was very high. The executive boards had in their membership the leading people of the denomination in the city. Not only that, but they were people of leadership in the community and in their professions and businesses. Although they were busy people with many calls upon their time, judging by their faithfulness in attendance at board meetings, they considered the work of the city societies to be important business. Attendance records of the executive boards for twenty-six societies were available. In the year preceding the study the poorest attendance was 32.4 per cent. and the best 75.4 per cent. Only one-quarter of the boards fell below 45 per cent. attendance and one-quarter of them had records of 64 per cent. or better. The median attendance was 50 per cent., a rather remarkably high attendance for purely volunteer service.

Of the 1,429 persons, 871 were members of the executive boards, and the balance, 558, members only of committees. Four societies used only members of the board for committee work. Eight societies used more non-board members,

in three cases more than twice as many. The number of persons used in organization per society averaged forty-nine, but ranged from fourteen to ninety-five.

There were 732 persons with one committee connection, 395 with two, 180 with three, 71 with four, 25 with five and 12 with more than five. The modal number of connections is one. This is also the modal number in eighteen societies. Nine societies have a mode of two, one a mode of three, and one society with a small board and only a few non-board members on committees has a mode of more than five.

An overwhelming proportion of the committee members are men, women numbering only 177, or 14 per cent., of the total. Eleven societies have no women on their committees, and in only six do women make up as much as 25 per cent. of the membership.

Older people predominate in the organization of the city societies. Out of a total of 1,296 whose approximate age was known, 60 per cent. were over fifty years of age. Only sixteen were below thirty, 137 were in the thirties, 365 in the forties, 418 in the fifties, and 360 were sixty or over. The modal age-group for all of the committee members is the fifties. For ten societies the modal age is the forties, for eleven the fifties, and for seven the modal age is sixty or over.

The committee members are divided up according to their occupations as follows: 468 ministers, 443 in business, 211 in the professions, 143 housewives, 73 in industry, 72 miscellaneous, and 15 in clerical positions. Of the whole number 32.8 per cent. are ministers. By societies, the proportion of ministers varies from 17.5 per cent. to 54.5 per cent. One quarter of the societies had more than 40 per cent. ministers and one quarter had less than 26 per cent. The median was 33.3 per cent.

The denominations showed certain characteristics in this respect. All but one of the Presbyterian societies had a larger than average percentage of ministers. All of the

Baptist societies had average or fewer ministers. The Congregational societies were divided, tending toward fewer than average. The Methodist societies were also divided but tended toward more than the average. In half the societies the largest single group by occupations was ministers and in the other half business men.

Information regarding the years of service of 911 committee members was obtained. The modal group of 274 had served from three to five years. Two hundred and forty-three had served from six to ten years; 183, two years or less; 89, between eleven and fifteen years; 81, between sixteen and twenty years; 41, more than twenty years.

Finances

The basic importance of finances to such organizations as the city societies called for an analysis not only of the present financial condition but also of the trends in recent years. Study was made of income, expenditures, capital funds, property and indebtedness.

Income and expenditures of the societies were analyzed at five-year intervals for the past twenty years. It was all but impossible to get comparable figures. One of the greatest difficulties was to discover bona fide net income and expenditures from annual financial reports which carried many items of money in and out and other items of transfer and business.

FINANCIAL HISTORY

Comparison of the grand total of all receipts and disbursements for the five different years at five-year intervals indicates the trends in the financial history of the societies for the past twenty years. From 1912 to 1917 there was a slight increase. In the next five years came their greatest increase, with a jump of about two and one-half times. From 1922 to 1927 they increased again by nearly half. But the tide had already turned, and the decrease during the

next five years was constant, so that by 1932 the level of receipts and expenditures was back to approximately that of 1922.[2]

This trend is different from the general economic trends of the country only in that the income of the city societies, like that of most church organizations, had already started to decline before the economic peak of 1929. This indicates that the cause for diminishing income cannot be laid only at the door of the depression.

INCOME

The sources of real income of the city societies are five:[3] the denominational board of home missions;[4] the churches of the denomination in the city; individuals; income from invested funds, trust funds and property owned for investments; and bequests.

A comparison of the percentage distribution of the income by sources for the years 1912, 1917, 1922, 1927, and 1932 by denominations, cities, and totals shows many differences, but no clear indication of trends. However, a comparison of the last year analyzed with the average distribution of the five different years added together gives an indication of the general direction in which the source of income is changing. In 1932, 13.0 per cent. of the income

[2] Appendix Table IX gives the totals, averages, and per cent. change for these periods.

[3] From this point the consideration of finances is on the basis of net bona fide income and expenditures. Money in and out on account of forwarding to denominational boards and other benevolence agencies or on account of services rendered and business transactions has been omitted. One item in which this was found impossible was in the case of those societies which were in the habit of receiving funds from some churches against the money which they paid out for these churches. These amounts, however, were relatively small in comparison with the totals.

[4] On account of the custom in most denominations of sending the contributions of the churches to the denominational boards and the boards returning to the societies the share agreed upon, it has not always been possible to distinguish between money received as grants of the denominational home-mission boards and money merely returned from the denomination which really came from the churches of the city. This results in some increase in the proportion of income credited to the denomination.

of all the societies came from the denominations. The average for all of the years analyzed was 13.7. The peak of the income from the denominations was in 1922, when 19.5 per cent. came from that source. In 1932, the societies received from churches 37.2 per cent. of their income, which is somewhat less than the average of 42.7 per cent. Here again the peak is in 1922, with 49.6 per cent. The income from individuals has been up and down, due primarily to occasional special campaigns, but on the whole the tendency has been toward a smaller proportion from this source. In 1932, 12.9 per cent. of the income came from individuals, and the average was 20.7 per cent. The peak was the earliest year analyzed, when 32.5 per cent. came from this source. The most marked change is in the income from invested funds. In 1932, this accounted for 27.2 per cent., while the average was 17.5 per cent. The increase has been chiefly in recent years, and 1932 marked the peak. Income from bequests is obviously sporadic. There was 9.7 per cent. in 1932, compared to the average of 5.4 per cent.[5]

Within the denominations and within the cities there are many differences but they, too, are equivocal. While a definite indication of trends is lacking, there are distinct and apparently characteristic differences in the distribution of income from the different sources between denominations and cities. The Baptist and Methodist societies have received much more than the average from their denominational boards and the Congregational, Presbyterian, and Episcopal societies much less.[6]

[5] The per cent. distribution of income by denominations, cities, and totals is given in Appendix Tables X and XI. The comparison of the distribution for 1932 and the average of the five years by denominations, cities, and totals is shown in Appendix Chart II.

[6] The Disciples are not included in this comparison because the analysis of a series of years was obtained only from the Chicago society. There was a change of policy in the middle of the period. In the early years the denomination paid the aid to projects through the society and in the later years the aid was paid directly to the projects. Consequently there is a great difference in the proportion of income from the denomination and the churches between the earlier and later years.

There is less consistency in that part of the income received from churches. The Baptist societies received more than the average in the early years and less the last year. The Congregational societies received much more at the beginning and much less the last year. The Methodist societies have received for the most part less from the churches. The Presbyterian societies have increased steadily from less to very much more than average. The Episcopal societies have less than average from the churches in early years, more in the next to the last analyzed and dropped below average in the last year.

The Baptist, Congregational and Methodist societies have received much less than average income from individuals. The Presbyterian societies average much more consistently until the last year when the income from this source dropped to less than one-third of what it had been. The Episcopal societies vary in the proportion of their income from individuals, but on the whole average more than the total average.

The average income from invested funds greatly increased in 1927 and 1932. This was due in the main to the large income of the Chicago Congregational society from the Lawson trust. The Congregational societies are far above the average while all the rest are far below, except the Episcopal societies, which are slightly lower.

The total income from bequests through the years studied was only significant in the Baptist and Methodist societies.

The cities also show distinct characteristics. The cities in which the societies have received more than the average income from their denominations are San Francisco and Boston; those distinctly less, Cleveland, Chicago, and Detroit. Income from churches was more than average in Detroit, Pittsburgh, and Cleveland and less in San Francisco, Chicago, and Boston. Individuals contributed more than the average amount to the societies in Chicago, Boston, and Cleveland, and less in Los Angeles, Pittsburgh,

Detroit, and San Francisco. Income from invested funds was greater in Chicago and less in the other cities, just below average in Boston and practically nothing in San Francisco. Bequests were above average in Los Angeles and Pittsburgh, and practically nothing in Detroit, Chicago, and San Francisco.

Another way of looking at it is to note the chief sources of income of the societies by denominations and by cities. If 60 per cent. be arbitrarily set up as a figure representing the major portion of the income of any given society, from what and how many sources have the societies by denominations and cities received this amount of their income?

It took churches (46.0 per cent.) and the denomination (20.4 per cent.) to provide this proportion of income for the Baptist societies. Sixty-three and four-tenths per cent. of the Congregational societies' receipts are from income on invested funds. The Methodist societies obtain this proportion from the denomination (33.7 per cent.) and their churches (31.7 per cent.). Presbyterian societies get half of their income from churches (50.9 per cent.) and 37.1 per cent. from individuals, making a total from these two sources of 88.0 per cent. Just about the same is true of the Episcopal societies, with 76.5 per cent. of their income from these two sources (churches 51.5 per cent. and individuals 25.0 per cent.).

In the cities, Boston societies require income from the denominations (34.6 per cent.) and from individuals (31.4 per cent.); Chicago societies obtained more than this proportion from invested funds (34.5 per cent.) and from individuals (33.9 per cent.); Cleveland societies got more than half their income from churches (51.5 per cent.), with the second largest amount from individuals (25.7 per cent.), which together made 77.2 per cent.; Detroit societies have received more than three-quarters of their income from churches (76.5 per cent.); Los Angeles societies have had their principal support from churches (43.3 per cent.) and

from bequests (20.5 per cent.); churches furnished the Pittsburgh societies with 58.1 per cent. of their income and then in about equal proportions the income was from individuals (12.4 per cent.) and from the denominations (12.3 per cent.), making a total of 82.8 per cent.; San Francisco societies received 67.1 per cent. of their income from their denominations.

EXPENDITURES

The city societies handle their expenditures by an annual budget. On the basis of the expected income a finance committee draws up a budget, which is approved by the administrative board and presented to the annual meeting of the society for adoption. Expenditures are then made against this budget under the responsibility of the executive. If there are changes, or unusual demands, or an unforeseen decrease in income, adjustments are made by the administrative board.

The bona fide expenditures of the societies can be classified under five headings: administration and overhead, home-mission aid, building grants and loans, loans paid, and transfers to capital.

Inasmuch as the general program activities were not budgeted as such or accounted for in annual reports with any consistency, no fair account can be taken of the proportion of money spent for this purpose. It is significant that as a rule the societies do not think of this part of their program in terms of finance. The salaries of directors of religious education and of social-service staff are generally included in the salary item under administration. Other items, in one way or another, are included under aid. For example, in the analysis of 1932 annual financial reports, $220,850, or 9.5 per cent. of the total expenditures, was specifically classified under general program. Of this, however, 92 per cent. was in six societies and half of it in the two Boston societies which have social-service programs out

of all proportion to the others. The salaries of only two of the seven directors of religious education are classified as religious education expenses. Very obviously, then, this could not be a complete picture of the amounts spent on general program. Consequently, the consideration of expenditures must be made on the basis of the predominant attitude within the societies themselves. Moreover, there is some justification for this attitude inasmuch as the general program is so closely related to administration on the one hand and to the aided projects on the other. Such accounting does, however, tend to make general activities seem less important than they are both in the analysis of expenditures and in the understanding of the constituency of the societies.

The percentage distribution of expenditures for the five years at five-year intervals shows some indication of trends and more variations are definitely explainable. The proportions of expenditures for administration and overhead increased only slightly from 1912 to 1927 and then increased by half to 24.5 per cent. in 1932, as compared to 17.6, the average for the total of the five years studied.

The proportion of about half of the expenditures for home-mission aid has remained remarkably constant, only slightly more in 1932, with the exception of 1927 when it dropped nearly a fifth. This drop was more than compensated for by an increase in that year of the proportion of expenditures made in the payment of loans which were for the most part an accumulation of indebtedness on account of assistance given toward the building of new churches in earlier years. The percentage of the total of all years to aid is 47.9, brought down by the one low year. In 1932 the percentage was 52.8.

The proportion of expenditures for grants and loans to churches toward the payment for new buildings, property and debts has been decreasing by stages. It was about one-quarter in 1912 and 1917, about one-fifth in 1922 and 1927

and about one-eighth in 1932. The average for the five years together is 19.5 per cent.

The proportion employed in the payment of loans has varied little except as just mentioned. The total average is 9.1 per cent. Income turned into capital has varied. The high point was 8.6 per cent. in 1922, the low 2.8 per cent. in 1932, and the average 5.2 per cent. There is an average of less than 1 per cent. for other miscellaneous expenditures.

There are some distinct variations from the total average in the distribution of expenditures for the societies of the same denomination. The Baptist societies have expended more than average in grants and loans to churches, and have also put more than average toward capital funds. On the other hand, they have put less than average into aid. The Congregational societies have exceeded the average in administration and fallen below average in grants and loans. The Methodist societies have expended above average in aid and less than average in payment of loans. The Presbyterian societies vary only slightly from the average percentages with less than average in payments of loans and funds put into capital accounts. The Episcopal societies have expended much more than average in the payment of loans and much less in grants and loans and in funds put into capital.

The cities also show variations. In Boston, aid, which includes social-service program, was more than 50 per cent. above average; grants and loans have been way below, with payment of loans and administration also below average. In Chicago, administrative cost has been above average and grants and loans below. In Cleveland, grants and loans are above average. In Detroit, grants and loans and loans paid are considerably above average and aid considerably below. In Los Angeles the distribution has been similar, above average in grants and loans and below average in aid. In Pittsburgh administration and loans paid are below average and aid and funds to capital above average.

In San Francisco aid is above average and grants and loans below average.[7]

COST OF ADMINISTRATION

The fact that the average cost of administration increased by about half in the last five years of the twenty-year period studied would seem to indicate that in the process of cutting down expenditures, which has been necessary in recent years, administration has not equally shared. This is not actually true, however, for in most cases executives and those employed in the offices have not only taken cuts equivalent to those of the missionaries, but the missionaries have as a rule been the first to receive their salaries. There are more definite limitations to the cuts that are possible in other administrative costs. The office rent must be paid and other fixed charges such as interest must be met. An administrative set-up must be maintained which can handle the work, even though the same set-up might be able to do the work necessary to handle twice the amount of funds. Actually, there is no relationship between the size of the budget in a society and the per cent. of expenditures for overhead. There are just as many small budgets with large percentages in overhead and large budgets with small percentages as the reverse.

If city societies are to exist they are bound to cost something. The average of 17.6 per cent. of expenditures for administration does not seem excessive in the light of the importance of the task. The cost of service to churches and of most of the general program is included in the cost of administration. When the great amount of work involved in these two items alone is considered, the expenditure for administration seems extremely moderate.

In a recent analysis of the total expenditures for home

[7] Appendix Tables XII and XIII gives the per cent. distribution of total expenditures by denominations and societies. Appendix Chart III shows the comparison of the distribution of income for the total of the five years with the distribution of the income for 1932 by denominations and cities.

missions in the United States, overhead is reckoned as 9.6 per cent. and field service and supervision 8.4 per cent. This 18.0 per cent. of the expenditures corresponds to the percentage reckoned as administrative cost of the city societies. The comparison is slightly to the advantage of the city societies on the total average, although in 1932 their percentage was higher.[8]

Since the city societies have become so much more than agencies for the administration of home missions in the city, total administrative expense can no longer be considered with reference to the administration of home-mission funds.

The administration of the city societies calls for men of capacity and ability. The executives meet the requirements, and yet in most cases their salaries are not comparable to the salaries of the pastors of larger churches. There is a further comparison to the churches that might be made. Since the city societies have developed such important work beyond the strict church-extension functions, there is a general similarity between their work and the work of the churches. While the average administrative and overhead cost of the thirty societies was 24.5 per cent. of the expenditures in 1932, an analysis of the expenditures of the churches in the areas of twenty-two societies for the same year shows that the median average expenditures for local church purposes was 80.61 per cent. and the range from 66.85 per cent. to 88.22 per cent. Looking at it the other way, 65.4 per cent. of the expenditures of the city societies in 1932 were for strictly missionary purposes (aid and grants and loans), while in the local churches the average expenditures for missionary purposes was only 19.39 per cent. Doubtless it will be commented that the city societies are for the purpose of doing missionary work and someone may have the temerity to reply that so are the churches.

[8] Morse, Herman N., Editor, *Home Missions Today and Tomorrow* (New York: Home Missions Council, 1934) p. 19.

CAPITAL FUNDS

Data were obtained concerning the assets and liabilities, in 1932, of twenty-five societies. The total amount of the invested funds of these societies was $4,026,610. These represent trust funds which have been given to provide income for designated purposes, special funds that have been set up, and general endowment. Some of these funds, but by no means all of them, are expendable. In addition to the funds which are invested in securities these societies have loaned to churches a total of $682,795. These loans they hope will be returned. Note should also be made of the additional equivalent of invested funds, which are trust funds held outside of the societies, the income from which is received by the societies. There are four such funds in three societies, whose value, on the basis of the income received, is approximately $6,750,000.

The societies also own a great deal of property consisting of neighborhood houses and other institutions, mission churches, and lots for future churches. The value placed upon their property, usually on the basis of cost, by the twenty-five societies is $7,642,641. Some societies reckon in their property the churches to which they hold title on account of the large investments they have made in them or because they are run by the societies. Other societies do not count these churches on their list of property because they consider that they are only holding them temporarily for the churches. In most cases the churches are not included in the items making up this total.

INDEBTEDNESS

Over against their property the societies have mortgages amounting to $1,928,837. In addition, they have borrowed on notes a total of $549,998. This is a total indebtedness of $2,478,835. Counting as assets only the actual invested funds in their own hands and the property, which amounts to $11,669,251, this makes an indebtedness of 21 per cent.

While some societies are in far better shape than others, taken as a whole they are more than solvent.

CHURCH BUILDING FUNDS

The church-building aid that societies have given to churches and institutions has amounted to a large sum of money. The records of these transactions are very limited and data showing what has been done over a period of years were very difficult to compile. However, reasonably complete information was obtained for seventeen of the societies, giving the amounts granted and loaned to churches and institutions for new property and buildings, during approximately the last fifteen years. The total amount of money involved was $4,604,897. Of this amount 45 per cent. came from special church-building funds, 21 per cent. from the denominational boards, 18 per cent. from special campaigns and solicitations for this specific purpose, and 16 per cent. from the regular income of the societies.

The special church-building funds have been set up by the societies. Frequently they have been started by bequests which have been added to by other bequests and amounts received by special campaigns, and in some cases by money received from the sale of property of churches which have been closed. In some cases the plan is to use the income from this fund to help churches erect new structures. In other cases the fund itself is used. The Chicago Baptist society combines the two ideas in its policy, permitting loans from the fund to churches not to exceed 25 per cent. of the total amount of the fund. When the fund itself is used, help is in the form of loans. The purpose is to make a revolving fund which can be used over and over again as churches repay the loans. However, the amount of money is so small and the spread so limited that in most cases the fund simply does not revolve. The Pittsburgh Baptist society, by means of extra care in making loans and continuous supervision on the part of a layman who is chairman of the committee, has obtained satisfac-

tory return of the loans. The Presbyterian society in Detroit makes no loans, providing church building aid only by out-and-out grants. The rest of the societies are between the two extremes, continuing to hope that the funds that are at present frozen will thaw out. A little less than half the amount involved is in loans.

The amount per society ranged from about $65,000 to nearly $750,000. The average is $270,000 per society and the median $201,000. Three of the seventeen societies have aided churches for property and buildings to an amount exceeding half a million dollars each.

The usual procedure in giving building aid is to make a grant of so much and then a loan for a long term without interest and sometimes an additional loan for a short term at a low interest rate. One society has a definite policy of dividing the help required into half grant and half loan. Covering a grant, a revisionary clause is usually written into the deed of the property stating that it will revert to the society in case of sale, at least the amount of the investment must be repaid to the society. To cover a loan, the societies either take title to the property until it is paid or take a mortgage for the amount of the loan. In a certain sense, therefore, the amount of money used in church-building aid remains an asset of the society.

The funds used for this purpose obtained from denominational boards are in larger amounts in the societies less able to take care of the situation themselves and in relatively small amounts in the societies of greater financial capacity. Four societies have received no money from this source. Several others that have become able to handle such needs themselves have not called on their denominational boards in recent years. Practically all of the societies look forward to the day when they will not have to call upon the boards because of the red tape and difficulties involved.

Direct solicitation of funds for this purpose has been successful in the cases of a few executives, but the special

campaigns in recent years have almost never reached the goals set. Only four societies have been able to take funds for this purpose from their regular income.

A few societies have attempted to become holding companies to purchase property for future churches. The difficulties involved and the uncertainties of both the extension of the denomination and of real-estate values have forced them to abandon the plan. This could scarcely be done on less than a city-wide interdenominational basis.

A unique way of obtaining funds for church buildings has been tried by several societies but has had success with only two. This is the Church Building Fellowship. Church people are asked to pledge an amount which they will be willing to pay toward each of not more than three new enterprises per year for a period of three years. This method has been successful in obtaining a moderate amount of money, but its greater value is the personal interest in the projects which has been created in the constituency of the societies.

EXPENDITURES OF THE SOCIETIES VS. THE EXPENDITURES OF THE CHURCHES

A comparison of the expenditures of the societies and the expenditures of the local churches making up the societies was made in twenty-two cases where data were obtainable. It was hoped that this comparison might throw some light on the actual working of the theory that the societies are the means for developing equalization of church opportunity in the city and through which the principle of sharing was practiced by the churches. It was found that the contribution of the churches to the societies represented a median average of 4.74 per cent. as much as the churches spent on themselves. The range was from one-half of 1 per cent. to nearly 13 per cent. When the comparison was made to the grand total of all expenditures of the local churches the median average was 3.71 per cent.

A further comparison was made to indicate the relative

financial size of the city societies and their churches. Against their churches the city societies are financially only small affairs. The grand total of all expenditures of the societies is, on the basis of the median average, 8.55 per cent. as much as the grand total of the expenditures of the churches. Only three societies are more than one-fifth as large financially as their combined churches. The largest is 37.74 per cent.

METHODS AND POLICIES OF FINANCE

In the financial methods and policies of the societies much is to be desired. Such things as budget control and cost accounting are practically unknown, except as the former is brought into play by the limitations of income. Any study on the part of the societies of the most efficient use of funds has given way to the pressing necessity of saving churches and workers. The impossibility of drastic change in policy has prevented the development of plans for the gradual change.

There is little significance in the financial methods and policies of the societies. They are limited in the main to getting as much money as possible from every source possible and making it go as far as possible. Great ingenuity has been exercised in making the money go round. A few societies have principles of financing that have protected them against getting overwhelmingly involved. Others have become terrifically involved. No society has made a study of its income or its expenditures over a period of years. Opportunism and necessity have been the controlling factors.

FINANCIAL IMPORTANCE OF THE SOCIETIES

Two of the important considerations for undertaking this study of the denominational city church-extension agencies had to do with finance. One was that they controlled the distribution and administration of home-mission funds in the cities. The other was that they dealt in large

sums of money and had become vast holding companies for property and invested funds.

Regarding the first of these considerations, with some reservations in connection with control that will be considered in a later chapter, the city societies do distribute and administer most of the home-mission funds which are expended in the cities. This study included about half of the functioning city societies in the United States. The annual receipts of the societies studied have reached considerably more than three million dollars and last year (1932) amounted to $2,382,717. This for half of the city societies is no mean sum. The amount of money handled annually by the societies shows them to be of great importance.

The comparison to the recent analysis of the total enterprise of home missions in the United States gives further evidence of the relative financial importance of the city societies.[9] The grand total of expenditures for home missions is given as $27,385,482. On this basis, the city societies in the country spend between one-fifth and one-sixth of all money spent for home missions.[10] A comparison of the total number of home-mission projects to the projects of the societies shows that 7 per cent. of the total projects are under the city societies.[11] Seven per cent. of the projects, taking between 17 and 20 per cent. of the money, would indicate that the most expensive, if not the most important, home-mission projects are to be found in the cities.

In regard to capital funds and property their importance is not less. The societies studied, representing about half the societies in the country, received the income on invested capital amounting to approximately eleven and a half mil-

[9] Morse, *op. cit.*

[10] The amount given in *Home Missions Today and Tomorrow* as the expenditures of state and city agencies is computed in relation to national home-mission funds so that it does not compare with the totals of this study for city societies.

[11] The 7 per cent. is obtained by doubling the number of projects (711) aided by half the societies and comparing the figure with the 19,660 total of home-mission projects.

lion dollars. In addition, they have property to the value of two-thirds as much, not to count the church property to which they hold title and which they control. While the financial strength of the city societies is by no means their greatest significance yet they are unquestionably important on this count alone.

Chapter V

RELATIONSHIPS

The relationships of the denominational city societies come about on two accounts. In the first place they are a part of their respective denominations. Inevitably they have relationships in various directions to the ecclesiastical organization. In the second place they function within the city. In their outreach through their activities they impinge upon the areas in which other organizations operate. As a consequence they become involved in a series of relationships.

The areas of urban life with which the city societies are concerned are four: the total Protestant approach to the city involving interdenominational relationships, the total religious activity of the city with interconfessional relationships, the social work of the city in which relationships develop with the social agencies, and the civic life in which certain relationships to the constructive civic agencies become involved.

As soon as relationships develop out of functions, each area in which the societies become concerned is enlarged to the extent of the outreach of that kind of function. For example, when a city society undertakes social work and finds itself involved in relationships with social agencies, then it automatically becomes concerned with the whole of organized social work in its city. This means that the society becomes responsible for contributing to the integration of the city's social work into a coördinated and unified whole. The study of relationships, therefore, becomes

more than the relationships themselves. It must consider the working of the integrating process.

Intra-denominational Relationships

Throughout their history the city societies have become more and more enmeshed in the ecclesiastical machinery. Now the relationships within their denominations reach out in all directions: to the churches, to the local ecclesiastical organization, to the state ecclesiastical bodies, and to the denominational overhead organization through the home-mission boards. In addition to the consideration of each of these relationships, the peculiarities of the different denominations will be pointed out, including those relationships, that have been developed in a few of the denominations, with the different societies of the same denomination.

Relationships to churches

Memberships in the Societies: As was seen in the last chapter, in the majority of the societies studied the churches are the constituent units. In most of the rest the society is the official missionary department of the local ecclesiastical body, which in turn is composed of the churches. Even where the societies are made up of individuals, these individuals are the informal representatives of their churches.

In any case, whether the churches are represented directly or through the ecclesiastical body, the basis of membership is functional. In the case of independent churches, the purpose is to work together with the other churches as a denominational unit primarily to do missionary work in the city. As far as dependent churches are concerned, it is primarily to receive aid.

However, with the growth of the idea of building a unity of the churches of the denominations in the city there is inextricably entwined the purpose of this unity. This is making a manageable force for use in developing the adequate churching of the city, which means that the society must have enough control over the churches to coördinate

their work and to direct the unified work effectively against the needs of the city as a whole.

Authority Over Churches: Authority is a ticklish point both to the societies and to the churches. This is particularly true in the case of the congregationally organized denominations in which the churches are independent. A number of societies of these denominations have specifically written into their constitutions that "they seek to serve the churches in every possible way . . . without assuming prerogatives out of keeping with the historic policies" of the denomination, or that the society "shall have no power to levy assessments, . . . to control or interfere with or have original or appellate jurisdiction of the government, discipline, or other spiritual or temporal affairs of any individual churches." If, however, the societies are to develop a denominational program for the city they must have some way of bringing the churches into line.

So far as the dependent churches and institutions are concerned, authority comes with the financial aid given by the society. This is both psychologically and practically true in all denominations and all cities. It is not only recognized but stated in specific terms in many constitutions. It took a significant amount of aid, however, to procure this authority. A church receiving but a pittance is frequently very cocky regarding advice and suggestions from the society.

It would be expected that the city societies in the denominations which have a highly organized ecclesiastical system would have more authority over the churches. This is not true, however. In fact, in more than one case the reverse is true. Where the city society over a period of years has demonstrated its wisdom and helpfulness in counsel and planning, there has developed a moral authority which is far more effective than the technical authority. When churches submit to the control of the societies because they have found it an advantage and because they

want to take their part in the work of the denomination in the city as a whole, the problem of authority is solved.

In many places the societies are related to or act as the vacancy and supply committee. This makes them largely responsible for pastoral changes because they furnish supplies and confer with churches in the settlement of pastors. The result is more rapid and more intelligent settlements not only in aided but also in self-supporting churches. This works constantly in the direction of a ministry better fitted to the needs of the cities and more coöperative in their relationships through the society.

A few societies have been able to undergird their well-developed moral authority with a constitutional statement giving them a great deal of technical authority. The most highly-developed statement of this kind is in the By-Laws of the Church Extension Board of the Presbytery of Chicago. Article 6 reads as follows:

> "Supervision
> "The Board shall have supervision of the field of the Chicago Presbytery, with reference to the work of evangelization, Christian social work, the planting and fostering of Presbyterian churches, Sabbath schools and Missions, the location and erection of Church buildings and the securing of funds for the work under its care. It shall have absolute discretion as to granting or withholding financial aid in the case of any Church, Mission or Christian social work. It shall have power to advise the union of churches, their removal to other locations, or the sale of their property. All applications for the organization of new churches shall be presented to Presbytery through the Board. No church receiving aid, or intending to ask it, shall take steps to secure a pastor without the advice and consent of the Board. No pastor shall be installed in any Mission Church except on recommendation from the Board. The Board shall have power to recommend to Presbytery the removal of the pastor of any Church receiving aid from the Board when in its judgment the best interests of the Church demand it.

> "No church or congregation of this Presbytery shall procure or change a site for a house of worship or make any contract for the erection of a church building or enlargement of the site or building, without the approval of the Church Extension Board.
> "All money contributed for Church Extension, Home Missions, Church Erection and Christian social work, not specifically designated, shall be expended in the discretion of the Board."

Such an authority and control over the churches puts the societies in a position to deal with the larger aspects of the tasks they have assumed in the cities. However, the strength of control always depends upon a democratic process, the consent of the church controlled.

The trend toward unity and control has been going on in all of the societies. From the standpoint of what has been accomplished a practical unity has been developed. There are, however, still recalcitrant churches and groups in even the best situations. These will not coöperate and at times even become obstructionists in the path of the societies' work.

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN LOCAL ECCLESIASTICAL AND MISSIONARY ORGANIZATIONS

Just as the Sunday school had its beginnings outside the ecclesiastical organization, so did the organization for the development of city missionary and church-extension work. The Sunday school has gradually grown into the church, so that today it is recognized as a very vital part of the church organization. An analogous trend is taking place with the denominational city societies. The local missionary responsibility rather than the maintenance of ecclesiastical and theological conformity is coming increasingly to be recognized as the centralizing and unifying force of the denomination in the city.

The evidence for this observation is seen in the trend toward the merger of the local ecclesiastical and missionary

organizations in the cities. In only a few cases are there organizations whose functions are entirely separate. This has greatly enhanced the importance of the city societies. No longer are they agencies of the churches of a denomination in the city carrying forward a missionary program; they are the churches themselves. The ecclesiastical organizations had become less and less important to the constituency while the missionary organizations had succeeded in developing an increasing unity of purpose and loyalty. The societies have put to work the ablest people in the denomination in the cities because an important close-at-hand task has challenged their interest and support. Where the two types of organization have been merged, a new vitality has permeated the joint organization because an important center of interest has been established for the whole enterprise. Here are units of tremendous strength. They are close to the churches and their constituencies. Their usefulness is very great. In fact, they are the strongest points in the denominational machinery—yet the processes of centralization in the denominations have been so strong that these local units have been feared rather than favored.

Among the few societies which have not yet accomplished such mergers definite efforts to overcome the difficulties are found. In one denomination, where the situation is by far the worst, a few societies have gotten round the difficulty by making the same man both ecclesiastical and society executive, or by a fortunate personal friendship between the two, or by a peculiar relationship of the society executive to the various kinds of work in the city.

In one situation, where the work is terribly divided, an unusually patient executive has continued to make concessions in the interests of coöperation, has built into his organization the leaders of the other organization, and has quietly spread propaganda showing the need for unification. Another society has taken a backward step in forming duplicate organizations, one to carry on the strictly mis-

sionary work and the other to handle buildings, debts, and property expense and maintenance. This was necessary because of heavy involvements in property indebtedness and to protect the salaries of missionaries and pastors.

The complete coördination of the ecclesiastical and missionary organizations is by no means accomplished. In fact, in a number of places missionary organizations themselves are not yet coördinated. However, the trend is so clear that it can be taken as an essential principle in the process of integrating the denominational force in the city.

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE CITY SOCIETIES AND THE STATE DENOMINATIONAL ORGANIZATION

The relationships of city societies to state ecclesiastical organizations differ with the denominational form of government. Under the congregational system the state convention or conference rather than the local association has generally come to be the most important unit above the local church. This is true in the Baptist, Congregational, and Disciples of Christ denominations. In these cases relationships have developed in two directions. Where the denomination is relatively weak in a city the missionary work is carried on as a part of the missionary work of the state organization, and any city organization that there may be has a very limited function and is entirely subordinate. In a number of cases this situation has followed an experiment with a more highly-developed city work, which it was found could not be carried forward satisfactorily with few churches. In all but two of the cities studied the Disciples of Christ state organizations carry on the city work. The Congregationalists also operate on this plan in three of the six situations studied.

The other direction of development is found where the city societies are strong and have large constituencies. They have become largely independent of the state organizations, holding more of a correlative position. This is the case with the Baptist and the other three Congre-

gational societies. It is a situation that usually brings about certain conflicts. The state organizations endeavor to prevent any technical independence of the city societies because it would mean the loss of a large part of their own strength. The denominational trackage, which is through the state organization, as a rule does not work smoothly. Jealousies arise. There is a clash between the urban and the rural mind, which is seen in the failure of the state group, whose work is predominantly rural, to understand the larger expenditures for mission work required in the city.

In the denominations where the local ecclesiastical group is the basic authoritative body, such as the Presbyterian and United Presbyterian, the extension agencies are functioning units of these bodies and there is no occasion for difficulty. The rural area about the cities included in the presbyteries is served satisfactorily by the church-extension board and home-mission committees of the presbyteries. The state organizations function in a different sphere and out of the main line of ecclesiastical trackage, and consequently have no relationship with the city societies.

Two other types exist. In the Protestant Episcopal Church, although the separate parishes are independent, the diocese is the most important ecclesiastical unit. This unit corresponds to the state organization in most of the denominations, but functions more like the presbyteries and is between the two in size. The executive council of the diocese carries on the missionary program in its area. In most cases where there are major cities in which the headquarters of the diocese are located, the diocesan council acts in lieu of a city society. In a few cases archdeaconries or subordinate divisions act as city societies working as departments of the whole.

In the Methodist Episcopal Church the ecclesiastical authority comes from the top down. The conference, or state organization, is the important group. The city societies

are under the conferences and have only such independence as may be granted them and no ecclesiastical standing.

CITY SOCIETIES AND THE DENOMINATIONAL OVERHEAD ORGANIZATION

While the relationships between the city societies and the overhead organization of their denominations differ with the various policies and forms of government, a number of factors are common to them all. The direct relationship is to the denominational boards of home missions by whatever name they are known. The basis of this relationship lies in the fact that home-mission monies are involved in the organized city work. The boards are held responsible to their denominations for the development and administration of home missions and for the distribution of home-mission funds in all fields including the cities.

Extension of City Societies: In the cases studied it was found that the denominations had taken no aggressive part in the formation of the societies. Only in one or two instances had they even been called in for expert counsel. Nor have the denominations been directly active in assisting the local societies to increase their scope and usefulness or to solve their particular problems, with possibly one exception.

These two equivocal factors materially affect the relationship between the city societies and the denominations. It would appear that the denominations have had little desire to extend the city societies, but that as they developed they used every effort to keep close track of them and to control them in every way possible.

The national home-mission boards, developed in the days of the frontier, had their programs set to rural needs. As the urbanization of America progressed, certain types of work in the cities were undertaken by the boards. Although the concept of adequately churching the city came rather late, the ideas, however limited, of the city societies, which sprang up to deal with the local home-

mission problems, were, in the main, ahead of those of the national boards. Here was opportunity for the national boards to get rid of the immediate responsibility for mission work in the cities and at the same time to get it done. But the source of money for the city societies was the same as that for the national home-mission boards. In addition, there was an increasing concentration of wealth in the cities and correspondingly in the city churches. If the money from such sources was diverted to a local missionary program, where would the national boards and their programs be? The finances had to be controlled.

Financial Relationships: To solve this problem, certain devices were worked out which, in one way or another, brought about a method for the redistribution of home-mission funds, not in relation to their sources but on the basis of the respective needs in the various cities. This principle in itself was above reproach, but when put into practice difficulties arose.

First of all, who was to be responsible for the distribution? Who could fairly measure the relative needs of each organization? Councils were set up in which representatives of the participating organizations had a place, but even group judgments cannot withstand good salesmanship and persistent and determined appeal, and finally authorities are not immune to influence.

A case in point illustrates the difficulties involved. One of two societies in a certain denomination, after several years of a very aggressive program with special attention to the building of new church edifices, has become so heavily involved that every dollar that can be begged is required to keep it going. The other has pursued quite a different policy. Years have been spent in building an endowment and accumulating a surplus. Even in depression times there are no financial difficulties. Both societies share in the distribution of denominational home-mission funds. The representative of the first claims that extra needs of his society call for extra money, which might be

taken from the share of the second since it has money ahead. The representative of the second replies that their share of the home-mission funds is the basis upon which their program is built, that other funds are for work beyond that, and anyway why should they be penalized because of a wise financial policy? The wisdom and authority of a Solomon would be necessary to answer such a question, but Solomon is a long time dead and there are no denominational dictators.

In spite of such great difficulties the distribution of home-mission funds, while not perfect, has been predominantly fair. This problem, serious as it is, has not proven as great as some others.

In the second place the denominational incomes are subject to fluctuation. They have their peaks and valleys. Unfortunately, the city societies set their stages at the greatest peak, and since the general income has been on the downward path for a number of years, they have been forced to maneuvers of retreat in the face of increasing needs which called for expansion. The few societies that have been able to counteract this trend have done it by an almost uncanny foresight and a keen insight into their whole situation.

The third difficulty, which is without doubt the most serious, arises out of the situation created because the denominations have retained responsibility for promotion in their own hands. Under these circumstances the city societies have become beneficiaries of the national home-mission boards without having definite responsibility for getting the home-mission funds. Of course the intention has been that the local societies should be considered as beneficiaries of the national home-mission boards, even though the money that came back from the boards for city work has been in most cases less than the money contributed by churches in the city for home missions. The promotional programs directed from outside have been inefficient and ineffective, and all parties have suffered be-

cause the greatest possible source of income has not been adequately utilized. If the city societies had been responsible for getting the money, with their understanding of their own cities and their intimacy with the churches some of the shrinkage of income could have been prevented.

One of the denominations has required that a city society agree not to raise funds directly from the churches if it is to coöperate in the denominational benevolence budget. Yet this same denomination has had its promotional program checkmated in city after city because it failed to coördinate with its local program and fit into city conditions.

Control: The largest factor in control is always the financial one. So long as an organization can keep its hands on the purse strings just so long must the recipient of the funds be subject to its control. The denominations through their home-mission boards have not failed to use their power of control to which they have so zealously clung.

When it comes to the annual making of budgets of appropriations for the city societies, each item must be reviewed in detail. Each project must be approved or disapproved or modified to fit the available funds. Together with this goes consideration of the personnel employed. In one denomination appropriations are made to each person in each project, and the money is paid direct to the worker or through the city society, with amounts specified in detail. Theoretically the city society runs its own affairs, but practically this is the case only so long as it comes within the approval of its financial overlord.

The denominational boards, also, keep their fingers in the pie in other respects. They have not turned over all of the work in the cities to the city societies. Certain spectacular enterprises, often called demonstration projects, with larger subsidies are kept directly under supervision and control of the national boards. In addition the boards sometimes employ workers in certain city society projects.

These workers are responsible to the boards, which hire, fire, and pay them. Again, national board representatives for special work, such as work among Orientals, Latin Americans, etc., are frequently located in cities where large sections of their respective types of work are to be found. This subtracts further from work that would otherwise be under the direction of the city society.

Through such varying means of control the city societies find themselves hampered by a far-off board in the development of a unified, constructive, and thoroughly planned program in accordance with their own initiative and knowledge of the city.

Centralization: These difficulties have in the main been by-products of a process of intensive centralization in the denominations, particularly since the War. This process was greatly needed and followed general tendencies. It was a phase of growth that is inherent in any vital organization. Nevertheless, there are dangers in prolonging a phase of development too far.

Although the processes of centralization have brought the city denominational church-extension agencies under the control of the national denominational home-mission boards, the responsibility accompanying such control has never been adequately assumed by the national boards. Neither are such circumstances psychologically conducive to the local assumption of full responsibility. Central control without adequate service and supervision from the central body is unfair and inefficient. Centralization has put the control of the city societies in the hands of those who are far removed from the practical problems of the individual city. The factor of greatest vitality in the city society, on the other hand, is its endeavor to take care of the home-mission needs of its own city by using the intelligence and interest of its own lay leadership and the available resources of personal service and financial contribution. When the agencies are controlled by the denomination, the possibility of indigenous organization and programizing is limited.

In two of the denominations the boards of home missions have established departments of city work with staff members in charge. These departments endeavor to serve the city societies. Their first charge, however, has been the making and controlling of budgets and appropriations to the work in the various cities, that is, keeping the city societies in line. The departments have also been made responsible for the projects carried on directly by the boards in the cities. In one department the definite service has consisted of valuable counsel to the societies, research and survey in certain cities, providing publicity, and an annual conference on city work for the executives and representatives of the city societies. In the other denomination the department's service has been confined principally to setting up and carrying out periodically a large and very excellent conference on city work for executives, pastors, and others interested.

Centralization has made a very real contribution. It has brought about broader interests, loyalty to a great purpose and program, and coöperation between different interests within the whole denomination. Now that these advantages are well established the disadvantages may well be considered and ways devised to overcome them, while the gains are protected. It would appear that decentralization, particularly at the point of the city organizations, would not only overcome the present difficulties but would greatly increase the spirited practical utility of the whole denomination. By strengthening the hands of the local units of the denominations in the cities in every possible way, the denominations themselves have the greatest hope of becoming reëstablished.

Particulars in the Relationships of Different Denominations

A few distinctive characteristics and peculiarities in relationships of the different denominations are important enough for special consideration.

BAPTIST

The Baptist denomination has the second largest number of fully organized and functioning city societies in the United States. There was a Baptist society in every city studied. In addition to the standard Class "A" societies, the Baptists have specifications for Class "B" and Class "C" societies. These are classified on the basis of the smaller size of the cities and the correspondingly smaller constituency, number of churches, annual income, and organization. The Annual of the Northern Baptist Convention for 1933 lists sixteen Class "A" societies, seven Class "B" societies, and two Class "C" societies. The latter two classes are agencies of the state organization and not units in their own right.

On the whole, the Baptist societies have developed the most extensive program of strictly missionary service and seem to have a special ability for work of this kind. Their projects include more work among foreign-speaking people, the use of a greater variety of foreign languages, and a larger number of Negro churches and institutions than have been developed by the Societies of other denominations.

Of the Baptist societies studied all but one were originally organized by local groups of individuals. In the process of centralization the Class "A" societies were taken as a block into the Board of Missionary Coöperation. Since then they have shared the varying fortunes of the denominational benevolences. In the last few years a group solidarity of the societies of the denomination has been quickened by a renewed activity of the Committee on City Missions of the Northern Baptist Convention.

The state conventions are responsible to the Board of Missionary Coöperation for carrying out the promotional program. In this program the executives of the city societies coöperate, doing whatever they are asked to do, but they have had little to do with making the programs or fitting them into the city churches. As a result, the local city

mission work must be promoted independently and the promotional program for the whole work of the denomination frequently suffers in so far as it does not click with the calendar and the needs of the city churches. It is quite possible that this lack of coördination in the promotional program has had some effect upon the serious shrinkage of the denominational benevolences during the last few years.

A special committee of fifteen on reorganization has been appointed by the Northern Baptist Convention. One of the things under consideration, at the suggestion of a recent president of the convention, is to do away with the majority of the city societies, leaving only those too deeply intrenched to move. What the outcome will be is all in the future. The case is mentioned here merely to illustrate the fact that the full significance of the city societies is not yet appreciated.

The strength of the Baptist Church is its democracy represented by the independence of the local churches. The necessary centralization to make the denomination a functional unity has been developed remarkably in a comparatively few years. The danger is now that too highly developed centralization will weaken the denomination at the point of its inherent strength. The city societies have been building out of the democracy of the churches a substantial coöperative enterprise around a definite, close-at-hand missionary task. A process of decentralization which would give large place and more independence to these societies would restrengthen the whole denomination.

The Congregational and Protestant Episcopal denominations, which started out on practically the same basis as the Baptist, took a different direction in their development and offer an important contrast. They developed by capitalizing their democracy and making the most of their decentralized units. Benevolence budgets are built up from the bottom instead of handed down from the top. This takes account of the capacity of local churches for giving,

the local responsibility for missionary work, and the responsibility of the local group for the general program of the denomination. This places the responsibility for getting the money also on the local unit. As a result of this development the work of these denominations rests on a more stable and substantial foundation.

CONGREGATIONAL

The Congregational denomination has but few urban centers where their strength permits well-developed city organizations. In the rest of the country the state organizations have been schooled to both rural and urban missionary responsibility. These state units build their own missionary programs and arrange their own budgets, which give due place for the missionary work delegated to the national body. They are the promotional agents of the denomination.

The city organization's work is in close coöperation with that of the state organization. Where the strong city societies are found they are more aggressive, however, and some difficulties arise. These difficulties are apt to be in the field of promotion as indicated by this quotation from the annual report of one of the Congregational city secretaries: "Through our Joint Promotion Committee . . . we have assumed with the State Conference and the Regional Committee definite responsibility for the promotion of the benevolent giving in the area to all fronts of the church. Strong regional plans should be drawn now, but who will lead? You see the dilemma, do you not? If we take the lead, we give ground to minds, that work in that ridiculous way, for saying that the Union is preëmpting the prerogatives of its partners. If we don't move in these matters we surrender this area to a *laissez faire* policy, in an hour when, whatever is the right policy, that is certainly the wrong policy."

In the great city at the heart of Congregationalism, however, the denomination has developed no adequate philos-

ophy of nor organization for city work. The city society is primarily a private philanthropy doing social-service work through a group of women workers attached to various churches. This splendid service is very limited compared to city work as it has developed in other places. A church building organization with a small endowment run by volunteer officers has in the course of years helped to erect many new church buildings. The regular mission aid comes from the state convention. There is no plan, however, for meeting city needs and little development of the sort of service that is generally rendered by the city societies.

DISCIPLES

The Disciples of Christ have only one real experiment in organized city work, with one other endeavor in a more limited way. The churches of this denomination are so independent and they vary so widely in theological points of view that the major efforts have been expended in the development of coöperation and group solidarity. A program developed to meet this need has been built out of very small resources. The missionary program is limited, financed largely by means of funds from the denominational missionary society which has at most only a small amount available for work in the cities.

The state organizations have been created for mutual conference in regard to the general affairs of the churches and are the important ecclesiastical units. Some of the state headquarters and executives give due regard to the work in the cities, but others pretty much neglect the city work.

METHODIST EPISCOPAL

The Methodist *Year Book* carries a directory of seventy-four city societies. Only seven, however, are indicated as having full-time salaried executive secretaries. Three of these were studied. Several more societies have permanent officers and office secretaries with long tenure. The district

superintendent automatically becomes the secretary of these. Two of this type were studied. The balance are small volunteer organizations carried on mostly by interested laymen, without any office or paid assistance and with more or less coöperation from the district superintendents. Three of this type were included in the study.

The city societies in the Methodist Episcopal Church began to spring up as early as seventy-five years ago. On the whole, they are older than those of the other denominations. These societies were the expression of a desire on the part of groups of laymen to have a more personal part in the extension of Methodism. For many years they continued with no ecclesiastical sanction.

In 1912 a Department of City Work was established and the city societies were officially recognized in the Discipline. Specifications were laid down for their organization and they were given the right, along with almost countless other enterprises, to make apportionments to the churches and get annual contributions, if they could. No place has ever been made for them in the ecclesiastical system. Their recognition, consequently, merely designates them as proper appendages. The suspicion that they were effectually sidetracked has been born out by their lack of development, except in the few cases where they have become financially important.

The Methodist Episcopal ecclesiastical structure was built to fit a rural country. It has never been modified to meet urban conditions. Until such modifications are made Methodism cannot develop an adequate urban ministry. The logical and simple way to bring about the necessary change is to establish the city societies in the ecclesiastical structure and to give them a free hand to fit the ministry of the church to the needs of the city. This the well-developed societies have demonstrated their ability to do.

In the present situation there are inherent difficulties that have been overcome only in part where a fortunate combination of personalities exists. Where there is a paid

executive secretary and the area of the city society corresponds to the ecclesiastical district, there is conflict between the responsibility of the executive and the district superintendent and difficulty in defining their respective functions. The churches have two executives, and there is a great possibility of jealousy on the part of the district superintendent because of the established relationships of the city society executive with the churches owing to the fact that he has been longer in his position. This is especially true with the churches which have received aid from the society. When the area of the city society includes more than one district there is the necessity of coördinating the society's work with the different district superintendents and of getting full coöperation of the superintendents with each other and with the society.

In the cases where the district superintendent becomes the executive secretary of the society, the area must necessarily be limited to his district. This seldom involves the whole city, let alone the metropolitan area, which has been found to be the best functioning unit for a city society. Several other difficulties are found in combining the two offices under the present ecclesiastical system. There is no reason to believe that one who was selected to fit the needs of the ecclesiastical position of district superintendent would be adequately experienced in the intensive urban church problems. The limited term of office of the superintendency is too short for the development of a constructive program, and the regular ecclesiastical responsibilities are too great to leave time for taking proper care of the city society work.

The city societies are held very closely under the supervision of the national home-mission board, which controls their budgets, their income, and all of their specific appropriations. The city society income through the board is subject to cuts in accordance with the total income of the board and not the income from the churches in the city of the society. It may be that the occasion for some funda-

mental reconstruction will be found in the outcome of a recent concession which permits the churches in a city to designate their denominational home-mission contributions for their own city society. This ruling has possibilities of breaking down the whole plan of unified benevolence, but may unmistakably demonstrate the importance of the city work.

PRESBYTERIAN

The Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. lists the largest number of fully functioning city societies. For the most part these societies are young, only three antedating the turn of the century. Half of them were organized within the last fifteen years. In the strictest sense the Presbyterian organizations are not "city" societies. In all cases they are organizations of the presbyteries, the local ecclesiastical units. These are geographical units of a size, for the most part, to include a large enough number of Presbyterian churches and Presbyterian constituency to be practical working units, inclusive of enough different points of view to be properly democratic, and of a size which would develop an *esprit de corps* and a sense of self-contained usefulness and importance. The area included varies greatly. At the centers of Presbyterianism there are sometimes two or more presbyteries in a metropolitan area; there are no less than seven committees administering Presbyterian church-extension and mission work in the Metropolitan area of New York, with six salaried superintendents or executives.

Where there are major cities, church-extension boards, or their equivalent, have been organized to take care of the city work primarily, and also to include the whole missionary work of the presbytery which almost always has a rural section and sometimes secondary cities. Working on the basis of the ecclesiastical unit and area has proven a distinct advantage and has been satisfactory to all concerned, as is shown in the following illustrations.

In two cases, just preceding and for the sake of developing a city home-mission organization, two presbyteries were merged. Pittsburgh and Allegheny became Pittsburgh Presbytery and San Francisco and Oakland were merged into San Francisco Presbytery. This provided metropolitan units of a size better able to function. The city of Stockton, California, formerly was in San Joaquin, a predominantly rural, Presbytery. Its request to be transferred to San Francisco Presbytery, because it was on the edge of that region and because a city organization existed there, was granted and has provided the churches of Stockton with the advantages of a city society which they could not otherwise have had. On the other hand, a number of years ago the churches of San Diego County considered withdrawing from Los Angeles Presbytery to form a presbytery of their own. This was given up because of the advantages of coming within the scope of the church-extension organization of Los Angeles. Even though Los Angeles is a hundred and thirty-five miles from San Diego they obtain the advantage of organization for city work which they could not provide for themselves.

Inclusion of the rural areas in the administration of what is primarily city home missions has broadened understanding and sympathy and has been of mutual advantage. On the whole, partly because it is well fitted to the Presbyterian form of government, this form of organization seems to be the best. Furthermore, it conforms to the pattern of regional planning.

Other advantages are also evident. The offices of the church-extension boards become more readily the headquarters of the presbytery. The executive secretaries of the church-extension boards are frequently made the executives of the presbyteries. The administration of all of the affairs of the presbyteries becomes centered in these offices. The denominational plan of promotion, which travels through the ecclesiastical organization, is also ad-

ministered through this office and has been better coordinated and more effective.

There are two types of Presbyterian organizations. In the first are local societies which budget with the Board of National Missions. Under this plan all of the contributions of the churches for home missions are forwarded to the board. The budget, including appropriations to such city presbyteries is recommended to the board by the national staff, composed of board officers and the secretaries of the church-extension boards and the home-mission work of the synods. This type is the standard and the one approved and encouraged by the board for obvious reasons. The second type include presbyteries which coöperate with the national board but maintain independent treasures. They are entirely responsible for their own local work, and in addition make a percentage division of contributions for national missions for the general work of the board. About half of the organizations are of this type.

Each of the two types was made as an adaptation to specific situations. The latter seems to have had some advantageous results. It has served to develop a more marked sense of local responsibility, both for obtaining income and for doing the job, while at the same time maintaining interest in and responsibility for the general home-mission program carried by the board. Presbyteries which measure up to a certain standard with respect to organization, executive service, receipts and expenditures, are rated as "Specially Designated Presbyteries". Such presbyteries may receive an appropriation direct from the board. The executives of the Specially Designated Presbyteries are members of the national staff, and thus share in shaping national policies.

The Unit of City, Immigrant and Industrial Work of the Board of National Missions, with a continuous experience of nearly twenty-five years, furnishes contact between the Board, the city and industrial field, and the local agencies concerned. It has had some share in the development of

church extension in practically all of our major cities, and in pioneering resourceful methods in city, immigrant and industrial communities.[1]

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL

The Protestant Episcopal denomination has not developed the city church-extension agencies in the way that the other major denominations have. Their frequently found "city missions" are in most cases either the organized work of the ministry of chaplains and workers in institutions, hospitals, jails, county poor farms, etc. or social and relief work centered around a rescue type of mission on a very modern plan. Episcopalians have specialized on this work, missions for sailors, homes for girls, and other specialized institutions. They are doing a neglected and necessary work in the cities. However, with attention centered on institutional work to meet such specific needs, a concept of city work as a whole has not been realized.

One of the difficulties this denomination has experienced in making a constructive plan for city work is the extreme independence of the parishes when it comes to program and organization. It happens some times that the need for specially adapted programs is in the parish area of churches able to pay for them out of their own budgets. So long as this is the case and the churches are disposed to meet the needs, the plan has worked out fairly well. Even at best, however, a constructive strategy for the work of the denomination in the whole city is usually lacking.

The basic concept of the church held by the Episcopalians is a tremendously unifying force in that denomination. The standard diocesan organization is effective and able to carry forward a well-developed city program. The combination of the ecclesiastical and missionary function in a single organization, an area including rural and urban

[1] Cf. Shriver, William P., *Presbyterian City Church Extension* (New York: Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 1928).

territory, the personnel of councils and committees made up usually of a large proportion of urban people, and denominational benevolences built up from the diocesan budget are all favorable factors for developing city work. However, the emphasis on providing services of the church easily available to scattered Episcopal people has thinned out the ministry of the church and made it unable adequately to cope with the difficult problems of the city.

UNITED PRESBYTERIAN

The United Presbyterians have but one city organization, which is located at the center of the denomination, Pittsburgh. This is the youngest of the city societies. It follows closely the Presbyterian organization. There are two unique features. The first is that two presbyteries coöperate in a joint committee to conduct the missionary work of the area. The presbyteries collect the money for the cost of administration, and the funds for aid to the churches come from the denominational home-mission board. The second unique feature, which has already been mentioned, is the official designation of the joint committee as responsible for assisting the churches in the settlement of new pastors. The program so far has been almost entirely the development of new work.

UNITARIAN

Boston, the center of Unitarianism, has the only city society of this denomination. It is conducted by laymen, supported largely by income from invested funds, and has a long history of service. There are only a few projects, but these are well developed and adequately supported.

LUTHERAN

The various Lutheran bodies have not undertaken work in the cities on the same basis as the other denominations. Their approach has been through the development of institutions and various types of social service and not

through organizing or aiding churches. The Lutheran World Almanac, under the heading of Inner Missions, the classification given to the missionary work in the city, lists fifty-three different organizations in the United States. Various names are used, the most frequent being Inner Mission, City Mission, and Welfare Society, but some are single institutions.

These societies are usually composed of individuals whose annual membership contribution make up a large part of the income. Some churches contribute. Some societies are composed of the people of a single Lutheran synod, but in most cases the membership is open to people and churches of all synods, and coöperation in this work is greater than at any other point in the Lutheran churches.

The work is done in a great variety of ways. The purpose is usually expressed in terms of evangelism and social service. Family relief, with its allied ministries, is the most common activity. The Almanac also lists under this heading: Orphans' Homes, Children's Homes, Home Finding Societies, Camps, Homes for the Aged, Deaconess Motherhouses, General Hospitals, Sanatoria, and Special Hospitals and Homes, Hospices, Seamen's and Immigrant Homes and Missions, Settlement Houses, Foreign Mission Houses, and Ministerial Relief and Pension organizations. A number of these are included in the activities of city societies of other denominations, but the Lutheran program of city work is more strictly in the field of social service. The Lutheran social-service work seems more extensive because all of their work, both in and outside of the cities, is included in their catalogue. In other denominations much of the work of this character is carried on independently.

SOUTHERN DENOMINATIONS

So far as it has been possible to determine, the only organized city work among the southern denominations is that done by the Southern Presbyterians in the city of Atlanta.

This is modelled after the Northern Presbyterians' city organizations.

Interdenominational Relationships

As the outreach of the city societies came to be oriented against the city as a whole, the necessity of relationships between the denominations became apparent.

COMITY

The early manifestations of these relationships are found in the field of comity. Organizations of the representatives of the various denominations in the cities for this purpose often preceded the organization for more comprehensive Protestant coöperation in the cities, but this function has now become one of the chief functions of church federations. Comity committees are found in the federations in all of the cities in which societies were studied.[2]

The city societies, usually through their executives, are the backbone of comity organization and practice. This coöperative church extension of the past years, in spite of its limitation, has had a "large measure of success in reaching acceptable decisions" in cases where difficulties of relationships were involved and "in developing the technical tools necessary to make such a practice general, such as methods of survey, of systematic conferences, and of reaching comity decisions." It has also had "a large influence upon the general ecclesiastical atmosphere and upon attitudes of churches and denominations toward one another outside of and beyond the issues strictly involved in its practice."

The denominations are not equally gripped by comity. Stubborn prejudices, clannishness, and sectarianism have largely been overcome, so far as the leadership in city societies is concerned. They still crop up in church groups to inhibit the full possibilities of the leadership. Ecclesi-

[2] Douglass, H. Paul, *Church Comity* (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1929).

astical administrators are still to be found whose zeal for the extension of their own denomination and whose political aspirations have limited the intelligent development of their work and the ethics of their relationships.

Competition has pretty generally been done away in the most obvious and flagrant cases. Nevertheless, the same geographical designations of churches frequently recur in the lists of aided projects of the different denominations in the same city. The defense of these projects can always be rationalized, but the suspicion still exists that competition has not entirely evaporated in the cities.

There is also great geographical difference in the development of comity. In the cities that have grown very rapidly in recent years, such as Detroit and Los Angeles, the problems have been centered largely around the allocation of areas for new churches. Here comity is strongly entrenched. In the cities of lesser growth, like Boston, where less than a dozen new churches have been started in the last fifteen years and the problems are centered upon matters of readjustment, comity is practically non-existent. It is easier for the denominations to agree to keep out of each other's way in new territory than it is to readjust or to give up older enterprises and to undertake responsibility for long-time liabilities of community adjustment or institutional programs where such development is needed.

In Chicago, comity has very definitely gone beyond the development in other cities. The coöperation of the city societies in a united survey, concentration on the problems of readjustment in the inner city, and the undertaking of coöperative enterprises are good strides in the direction of strategy and planning for the future.

ORGANIZED PROTESTANT COÖPERATION

The larger development of organized Protestant coöperation in the church federations and councils of churches also involves the city societies. In two of the cities studied membership in the federation is by denominational units through

the city societies. One is largely made up of individuals, and the memberships of the rest are composed of individual churches.

In all cases the city society executives are the key to the coöperation. Where the federations have recognized this their organizations and activities are stronger and more stable. Not only is the executive the liason between the churches and the coöperative organization, but he is in a position to assist in obtaining the necessary funds and also, through his personal activity and his knowledge of the capacity of the people of his denomination, to contribute materially to the leadership.

The city societies and their executives vary in the valuation placed upon the coöperative organization. This is chiefly a reflection, on the one hand, of the effectiveness of the federation and, on the other, of the extent to which the federation has undertaken things in which they were interested or things of which they disapproved.

Dr. H. Paul Douglass in his book *Protestant Coöperation in American Cities* makes this statement: "One has to say that Protestants almost never coöperate for the sheer reasonableness of such action, or because they want to be brotherly. Coöperation at a given time or place always reflects some particular advantage or particular pressure that serves to carry over previously separate activities into a joint program at this point or that." Discussions with the executives of the city societies concerning the church federation served to substantiate this statement. By and large the leaders in the societies have not appreciated their opportunity or their responsibility for the development of coöperation.

Several significant comments came out of the study of these relationships. The executives of the city societies in most cases are committed to the idea represented in the coöperative organization. They have, however, been prevented from giving themselves whole-heartedly to the federation work for several reasons.

First, most of the denominational executives realize that

their primary responsibility is to their denominational job. They are paid for being the executives of the denominational city societies. They are interested in Protestant coöperation where it is to the advantage of their denomination. They have not yet come really to think of the coöperative organization and its work as a fundamental thing in the churching of the city. As one of the executives naïvely expressed it in the words of the old German proverb, "Mein hemd ist mehr nähr als mein rock."[3] This attitude has been strengthened by such instances as the statement made to one of the executives by his largest contributor: "The Council of Churches is all right, but idealistic. In times like these it must get along with just a woman office secretary, as a clearing house of interdenominational activities. If this cannot be done there is something wrong, and I won't give anything to the city society if a dollar goes to the Council of Churches."

Second, the federation program is frequently considered unchallenging and ineffectual. More than one executive expressed the opinion that what had been done so far did not amount to anything and that they had begun to question whether or not there were things that the denominations could really do together. Another ground for skepticism was the fact that the federations were organized to melt down barriers between denominations, but that none of these barriers seemed to have been melted down.

Third, the organization of the federation is too far removed from the churches. Most of the churches do not know what it is all about—part of them because they are too small, and part of them because of conservative or rural-minded pastors. Most pastors have their hands full with the work in their own parishes and with the problems of their own churches. They take no time or effort to consider the broader aspects of the church in the city. Only a very few pastors take the attitude that the church federation is their own affair. They think of the federation as an outside,

[3] "My shirt is nearer to me than my coat."

extra organization, probably worth-while, and that their churches should support it if there is any money left after the local church expenses are met and the denominational benevolence quota paid. To consider that the federation is as much a part of their church work as the choir or the Sunday school never occurs to them. If, perchance, they are able to make a contribution, they think that their obligation is fulfilled.

One secretary made a profound statement: "Because it was believed that the denominations could do things better together the machinery for coöperation was set up, and then the denominations didn't do things together, the machine did things." Apparently the responsibility for the lack of a more profound coöperation rests on both sides of the fence. If the city societies and their executives had seen the church federation as an essential expression of their work in the city, they would have made the organization strong enough and significant enough to challenge the churches and their people and they would have seen to it that the church federation was "sold" to the churches.

RELATIONSHIPS WITH SOCIETIES OF OTHER DENOMINATIONS

The direct relationships between societies of different denominations in the same city are few. In Los Angeles, the Congregationalist and Presbyterian societies assist a federated Chinese church. In San Francisco, the Baptists and Presbyterians coöperate in conducting a neighborhood house, chiefly for Russians. In Chicago, the Congregationalist and Presbyterian societies jointly operate four neighborhood houses. There are also interdenominational Chinese and Filipino churches supported by the major denominations and operated by the church federation.

This is an area still largely unexplored. Probably the reason is that there is a pretty general disapproval of federated and community churches. However, the experiments just noted have been successful and demonstrate that joint operation of projects is a practical plan.

Inter-confessional Relationships

Relationships based upon the total religious activity in the city are still outside of the experience of the city societies. There are evidences of sympathetic regard for Roman Catholics and Jews which here and there reach the stage of acquaintance. The only definite relationship, however, is the situation already mentioned, in which the major denominations through their city societies, the Roman Catholics, and the Jews have coöperated in providing a building and a program of religious work among the students of the University of California at Los Angeles.

Relationships with Social and Civic Agencies

To a large extent the relationships with the social agencies are left to the projects of the societies because there the programs come in direct contact with the clearing houses of the councils of social agencies, family welfare societies, child welfare agencies, and other specifically organized social work.

In two societies, the Methodist Episcopal, in Los Angeles, and the Methodist Episcopal, in Pittsburgh, funds are received from the community chests. In the former, it is largely to get another source of income to piece out the difficulty of getting enough money for the work. In the latter, the primary purpose is to relate the church definitely to the community chest program for their mutual good.

Several societies coöperate with the Y. M. C. A. in the development of boys' work in the churches. A number of the societies lend their support in one way or another to the annual community fund campaigns.

Relationships with civic agencies are confined to the courts in connection with which they have court workers. While some societies express the purpose of influencing the life of the city for righteousness, to assist in bringing about political, social, and economic reconstruction, no definite

alliances with agencies that exist for this purpose were found.

Summary

Many weaknesses and unsatisfactory aspects of relationships are evident in this analysis. The problems involved will be pointed out in a later chapter. The integration of the work of the city societies in the various areas in which they function has not yet been worked out in a comprehensive way. For the most part this task is still ahead.

Chapter VI

PROMOTION AND ACCOMPLISHMENT

Every organization finds it necessary to devise certain plans and engage in activities designed to bring about the realization of its aims and purposes. Such activities are different in character from the programs of the organization, or they involve different aspects of program activities. Closely related to the discussion of this promotion naturally is the consideration of the accomplishments for which it has been responsible.

I. PROMOTION

What is promotion? In view of the questionable activities that are sometimes associated with this term, its meaning needs definition. The *New Standard Dictionary* defines "promote" thus: "to cause to move forward toward some desired end; contribute to the development, establishment, increase, or influence of." This is a simple and plain statement of exactly what promotion is to the city societies.

No hit or miss promotion will suffice to make an effective organization. There are definite ends required and plans must take into consideration the program to be promoted, on the one hand, and the constituency among which it is to be promoted, on the other. The ends of promotion embrace not only the realization of the objectives of the city societies but also the maintenance of the societies. This means that promotion is to provide the money and the support that is necessary if the organization is to keep going.

The promotion of the city societies has some limitations. Only simple and straightforward methods are legitimate.

Misleading presentations and ulterior motives cannot win the enthusiastic support of a constituency. But more than that, the constituency cannot be carried too far or too fast. Promotion will seek to make explicit the implicit ideals of the constituency. It will sense inhibitions and provide the avenues which will lead to the realization of its objectives under the conditions of its own community, all the while enlarging and extending the ideals and participation of the people in the process.

Two Bases of Promotion

Two different attitudes toward promotion were clearly distinguished in the societies studied. In the first, promotion is carried on purely and simply to get money. In the second, promotion is for the purpose of establishing an idea, developing understanding of the purposes and work of the society, and growing a constituency. Often it is difficult to distinguish the results of the two in their success in balancing the annual budgets. However, these attitudes have a wide influence. They make a difference in the whole atmosphere of the organization, in the manner in which the work is carried forward, in the methods of promotion, and especially in the content of the various means of promotion.

PROMOTING FOR MONEY

All too many of the city societies have made their own existence their chief concern. Consequently, promotion has become a catch-as-catch-can method of getting all of the money possible. The explanation of this is simple. From the beginning these organizations faced the necessity of getting money. The more things they undertook to do the more money they required. The easiest way to get money is to capitalize the interest which led to the establishment of a project with a continued appeal for money for that specific thing. This is especially true since denominational loyalty is so frequently linked with the continuation of an original or traditional program. No difficulty is found in

recounting human interest stories and appealing situations that arouse an emotional reaction on the part of the constituency. This has been done to good effect and has made many loyal friends who, because of their interest in a mission, a neighborhood house, an individual worker, or a particular group of people, have continued not only to give their money for the specific work but have found other friends in whom they have been able to arouse a productive interest.

This type of promotion is all right so far as it goes, but it has definite limitations. The people that are reached this way usually become generous and enthusiastic, others who cannot be touched by these specific appeals remain indifferent to the whole work. The constituency tends to become fixed and ultimately dies off, sometimes in fact gets tired even before it dies. Another limitation is found in the fact that such a policy also tends to fix the program of the society, if not in a certain group of projects at least in a definite type of work. This comes from the focus of interest at a particular point and the development of a concentrated loyalty that must not be endangered by broadening out the program.

Once this policy gets started it creates a vicious circle in which it tends always to perpetuate itself. As a result, the leaders of the societies hold back from any attempt to reëducate their constituency with a background of understanding of city work to meet changing needs, lest they disturb the traditional denominational loyalty and zeal upon which the societies were founded and through which have come, to a large extent, the interest and support of the constituency.

Now that the old generous supporters are dying off and the average laymen have begun to question the validity of denominational loyalty as such, the city societies are faced with a diminishing interest. With no adequate philosophy or technique of propaganda and practice, they are

at a loss to know what to do to gain support for the very real needs of the present day.

One of the larger societies studied illustrates this first attitude toward promotion. The executive has been in his position for a great many years. He has succeeded in raising a great deal of money. His society has a large program. He has developed a close friendship with a number of men of wealth. These men have come to have confidence in him and in what he is doing. Whenever a special need arises, the executive goes to some of his friends, gives them a vivid picture of the situation and also makes them feel that a worthy project will have to be discontinued, or a church building lost, or an important worker discharged if they do not help. As a result, the executive comes away with checks made payable to the particular project. He forwards them to the proper place without passing them through the society's treasury. This method accounts for about a third of the money that is raised for the work of the denomination in that city. The whole process depends entirely upon one man. He himself says that he would not recommend his method, but it is his way. All is well so long as he continues to be the executive, but when he passes out of the picture his successor will have to start from scratch.

GROWING A CONSTITUENCY

Promotion on the second basis is a very different thing. It is primarily a process of education. It involves the cultivation of a constituency composed of people who not only believe in what the societies are doing, but who actually become a part of the work, and through their participation bring into reality the projected programs. It is not mere indoctrination, but takes the view of the enrichment of life which is at the center of adult education. The focus of the attention of the city societies that have this attitude toward promotion is upon the constituency. They become interested in helping people to broaden their outlook on life and to find self-expression, built upon their own knowledge and

experience, in participation in the program of the societies. In such an endeavor the societies will lose themselves completely, forgetting the maintenance of their own organizations because, if the endeavor is successful, the societies will become strengthened in every respect, and if it fails, money would not be effective even if it could be obtained.

A vivid contrast to the illustration used in connection with the first attitude is found in the society of another denomination in a different city. The executive there has been on the job less than half as long as in the other case. He thinks and talks and plans in terms of the needs of the city. He believes in the importance and possibilities of the city society to enable the denomination to meet the ever-changing present needs of the city. He made this statement during the study of his organization: "I never make a speech or a report, however brief, that I do not include, even if it is no more than a sentence, a statement of the philosophy and purpose of the organization. This has been a definite policy all of the years that I have been secretary." His interest is in establishing an idea. He is building a constituency which believes in and gives itself to the work of the society. People are finding that they can participate in activities planned to help remake the city. It was neither surprising nor unusual to find one of the most prominent and influential men of that city seated at the head of the table at a Christmas dinner given at the Christian Center for the poor Negro people of the neighborhood, the cost of which he had largely provided.

An incident from the experience of this society is of particular interest. A very prominent scientist and business man with an international reputation, residing in this city, was a member of this denomination. He was not interested in the work of the city society because he considered the redemption of the city an impossible task. One of his friends told the secretary of the society that it would be impossible to interest this man in the work. However, the secretary began to cultivate his acquaintance and friendship. He took

particular pains to share with him his understanding of the city, his faith in the possibility of making over the city, and his philosophy of the church's part in that task. There came a time when this prominent man really grasped the importance of these things. He was convinced of the great possibility of the influence of the city society. He was ready to put himself into such a program. It happened that, in his particular situation, the most significant contribution that he could make to the work was in money. He gave the secretary a check for two thousand dollars. The next morning at seven o'clock he telephoned the secretary and invited him to breakfast. During the meal he asked for the return of the check. Then he said, "I have been thinking more about the work of the city society. Cities are the points of infection in our nation. Whatever is done must be done here. No work of the Christian church is more important than that which is done in the city." He handed the secretary another check. This one was made out for ten thousand dollars.

This is not an isolated case. It is not unusual for someone to send for this secretary and hand him a check for a large amount for the whole work of the society. Such gifts were unsolicited directly, but the givers have come to understand and believe in the work. Such belief expresses itself in support in some cases, and in others it brings strong and capable people to administrative board and committee membership and to specific program responsibilities. In the long run such an approach is abundantly fruitful. The foundation may be built by one man but it outlasts many men.

The Means of Promotion

The actual work of promotion, as carried on by the city societies, has many features. Although the idea and planning of promotion as an educational process has not been developed completely in any society and has not even been thought of in a number, yet the promotional activities actually have values for such a process. They are more

effective, to be sure, when purposeful, but in many cases they serve to accomplish more than is appreciated in the right direction in spite of the attitude underlying promotion.

The analysis of the means of promotion is made on the basis of the second attitude, which makes promotion an educational process. First are the activities whose purpose is to inform the constituency of what is being done and the progress that is being made and to arouse general interest in the work. Second are those which provide opportunities for group consideration of purposes, problems, and projects, or which introduce the constituency to a first-hand contact with the work of the societies. Third are the projects through which the constituency becomes definitely related to the work of the societies. Fourth come certain items in the general programs that are under the directors of religious education. These items bring persons from independent churches into direct relationship with those from aided churches and institutions and carry forward projects and programs through which the service of the constituency may be used.[1]

DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION

The most frequent promotional activities are those undertaken to spread information and arouse interest. The only universal activity is speaking. Speeches about the work of the societies are made in many places and under various circumstances, in church services, at special meetings in the churches, before church boards, to small groups of people, before large denominational mass meetings, at ecclesiastical sessions, and so forth. Usually the executive or members of the staff of the society are the speakers. In a few places board members are called on for this service. Occasionally men and women volunteer to make addresses about the societies and their work whenever they are called upon.

[1] This section does not deal with specific projects wherein groups of people in the constituencies actually undertake to do part of the societies' work, inasmuch as this study did not reach down to that point.

All but a few of the societies hold annual meetings. These affairs are made as important as possible. Every effort is made to secure a large attendance of the constituency. The intention is to create the impression that the societies are considered significant and that many people are interested in their work. This is not as a rule difficult to do. Frequently the meetings begin with dinners. These occasions are often the only opportunities for social intercourse between members of the different churches of the denomination in the city. The programs of the meetings include reports of departments, committees, and projects. Generally the executives make reports covering the year's work, and the annual financial statements are given. Sometimes there are special features depicting the work of one or more of the enterprises through pageants or music. At other times outside speakers are brought in or some prominent local person makes an address. The impression made by these meetings is genuinely effective and the publicity which they receive is very helpful.

More than half of the societies studied print or mimeograph their annual reports. These are circulated throughout the constituency, by mail to individuals on the office mailing list, and through the churches. Great importance is placed upon getting this definite record into the hands of the constituency of the societies. It was not discovered why the other societies did not attach equal importance to this method of promotion.

Almost as many societies as publish annual reports use other printed matter. This takes many forms. General advertising material in leaflet form, little stories of work in various projects, reports of special studies, historical material, financial campaign appeals, and lists of officers and committee members form the bulk of this type of publicity. Some of the societies have used the mimeograph very cleverly for this purpose. A few of the societies, those with large financial resources, have gotten out printed matter that is especially fine. The Baptist society in Cleveland

produced a number of very attractive and well-illustrated folders as publicity for a special campaign several years ago. The centennial celebration souvenir program was beautiful in appearance and contained historical material and facts concerning the present needs of the city. The Presbyterian society of Chicago has printed extensive summaries of the work as part of its annual reports. The Congregational society in Chicago has also made much of the annual reports. In addition, a splendid array of printed matter has been produced—pamphlets telling of particular projects, booklets reporting studies of different groups in Chicago, such as the Mexican and the Negro, and various other kinds of material. In the printed matter of this society a carefully worked out educational approach is clearly evident.

Six of the societies publish a paper or bulletin at regular intervals. These carry the outlines of denominational programs, notices of coming events, news about the work of different projects and departments. Sometimes there are pictures of churches or individuals or events in connection with the items. Occasionally personal items about ministers and prominent laymen are included. Valuable as these bulletins have proven to the societies that use them, they are expensive and in most cases the periods between their appearance have been increased in the last few years.

One society has an annual Church-extension Sunday. On this day pastors exchange pulpits and preach on the work of the society, using material furnished by the society. The theory of this plan is that the pastor will speak of the work to his own people in the regular course of things and that this arrangement will provide another definite occasion for the presentation of the work by a different person.

One further item of promotion belongs under this classification, the use of the daily press. Only one society was found with a special committee to prepare and send to the newspapers items of news and general interest. Most of the societies, however, have contacts with church editors of the papers. These editors make periodic calls on the execu-

tives to keep posted about what is going on and to get material for their church pages, and the executives call them whenever important news is available. Such publicity has the advantage of reaching beyond the constituency.

CONSIDERATION AND CONTACTS

Nearly one-third of the societies hold occasional special meetings, conferences, or retreats. These occasions occupy an evening or a day, and sometimes more than a day. Here the work is reported and discussed. Speakers present the broader aspects of responsibility. Groups talk over particular problems, plans and efforts for the integration of the societies' work in the larger areas. These meetings usually consider the whole denominational benevolence program, the responsibility of the local churches and the relationship of the denomination in the city to the work of the whole denomination. These activities are effective in prevention of parochialism.

Another more striking item of promotion occurs in different forms in three of the societies. It is called a Field Day. The churches are asked to give over all of their services on a certain Sunday to the work of the society. Programs are planned to fit the worship services, the church school session, and the young people's meetings. Speakers are provided. Groups of young people from neighborhood houses and foreign-speaking churches put on pageants and musical programs, sometimes in their native costumes. Fellowship gatherings are arranged in which groups in the church and groups from the aided enterprises get acquainted. The fellowship idea which prevades these days is very significant.

This idea is reversed in the program of several churches. Instead of bringing people from the aided enterprises to the independent churches, people from the churches go to the mission churches and neighborhood houses. One society holds a "Come and See" week. Each day and evening during this week one of the enterprises opens its doors for

visitors to see the work as it goes on. There are periods during which special demonstration programs are put on. Dinners in native foreign style are served and meetings of fellowship and understanding are held. The constituency of the society is invited to spend some time each day in making the rounds of the work, to see what is being done and get acquainted with workers and people.

In some cities such a program is scattered over the year. Different projects have special occasions, such as bazaars, entertainments, and dinners to which the constituency is invited.

The Chicago Presbyterian Church Extension Board has another way of working out this idea as related in this news item, entitled "See for Yourself," taken from its paper:

> "Everyone who is interested in any object or form of activity, whether financially or otherwise, should make an occasional personal inspection of such work in order to determine first hand whether it is worthwhile—whether the personal investment is on a paying basis.
>
> "The Church Extension Board supervises a total of forty-six centers in Chicago and vicinity, including Sunday schools, missions, new churches and neighborhood houses. If a group in your church, an auto-load or several, should express a desire to visit some of these outstanding stations we shall be glad to furnish a guide to conduct such a group through a most interesting itinerary, terminating, if desired, with lunch or dinner at one of our houses.
>
> "Many groups have taken advantage of this service; none have regretted the time spent in this plan of 'sightseeing.' "[2]

In the few places where these last schemes have been used valuable first-hand knowledge of the work of the societies has accrued. Nothing is so effective as seeing for oneself what is done, where it is done, and those for whom it is done. These distinctly educational procedures might well be used to a greater extent for interpretation of the philosophy of city work and development of understanding.

[2] *The Chicago Presbyterian,* Vol. XIV, Nos. 6-11, June-November, 1932.

PARTICIPATION IN PROJECTS

A group of promotion items mentioned by a few societies can be classified under the general heading of the personal work of the executive. They consist in calls on ministers and laymen, correspondence, meeting with church boards and reports to the regular ecclesiastical meetings. This activity goes farther than passing on information. It usually has a definite purpose and is consistently planned and carried forward. It works toward definitely relating individuals and groups to projects of the societies. This is most clearly seen in such incidents as that already related in connection with the discussion of the attitudes toward promotion. The fact that many individuals have been effectively educated by the persistent efforts of the executives to enthusiastic participation in the work of the societies, as members of the boards of managers of neighborhood houses, or leaders in some specific task, or as generous contributors, demonstrates beyond question the opportunities of the educational process.

Five of the societies have women's auxiliaries or departments which have proven one of the most useful means of promotion. These are composed sometimes of official representatives from women's organizations of the churches and sometimes of individual women who are interested. In either case they form a direct link between churches and societies. This connection is made effective because the women actually get into the work, become interested and enthusiastic, and carry their enthusiasm back to their churches. These departments see that the women know about all of the work of the society. In addition to their regular monthly meetings, there are weekly meetings of smaller groups for definite work—sewing, preparing material and equipment for clubs and classes, helping to conduct kindergartens or group work among girls, gathering material for relief, and so forth. The departments take responsibility for certain definite projects, such as providing trained social

workers or court workers, maintaining a milk fund for needy children, and many other similar things. Several women's departments have their own paid secretaries who sometimes are also supervisors of women workers or, in addition to their general work, do specific tasks. At this point educational promotion becomes realized. The women have shown the way in which the task can be done.

FELLOWSHIP AND SERVICE

A number of items of the religious education programs of the societies have considerable value as educational promotion. The people from churches and mission enterprises are brought together in many of the general programs. The training of leaders and teachers for church schools is done in a single leadership-training school. The young people of the denomination include all in their general activities. Especially in the summer conferences the common problems and common interests develop acquaintance and understanding.

In the leadership-training school of one society a class studied city work under the leadership of the executive. The directors of religious education usually assist in the promotion and organization of mission study classes in various churches and train many leaders for these classes.

In the general program there are certain projects in which there is opportunity to use people of the constituency in definite work. The supervision and organization of church schools necessitates in many instances finding teachers. So also must teachers be found for church vacation schools, and leaders for boys' clubs and for girls' clubs. In one society a play was put on by the young people, the proceeds of which were given to the neighborhood houses. Where there are directors of religious education much more can be accomplished in the development of fellowship and service.

The finest example of a well-worked-out program of promotion, definitely planned to cultivate a constituency

through a process of education, is found in the Fellowship Plan of the Chicago Congregational Union. This plan was undertaken in 1931 as an experiment, in which eleven of the missionary institutions of the Union were related to strong suburban churches with a five-fold purpose: (1) to provide capable leadership for the local boards of management of the Inner City Institutions, from the membership of the coöperating churches; (2) to provide gradually a stream of volunteer workers in these institutions, from the same source; (3) by means of women's auxiliaries to extend the group of people interested in the work of these institutions to help them to increase the range of their service; (4) incidentally it was hoped that financial aid of small amounts would follow the interest created; (5) and there was the expectation that the relationship of helpfulness would be mutual, that the coöperating churches would grow to understand the greatness of the service rendered by the other arms of the Christian church, and have their own consciousness sharpened by knowledge of the human conditions with which these institutions were dealing.

This experiment succeeded beyond all expectations. Some of the strongest churches became related to as many as five institutions. The institutions obtained and used many volunteers to real advantage. Large amounts of relief were transmitted from the suburban churches and small sums were furnished for certain projects of the institutions. The interest in these institutions has brought out a great deal of help for solving their problems. The plan has now been made a regular part of the program of the Union, with an enlarged program including all of the Congregational organizations in the city.

The Union has recently published a very important pamphlet on "The Fellowship Plan." It gives its explanation and history, a statement of goals, details of method and procedure, and a résumé of the results so far. A definition is given in these words: "The Fellowship Plan is a partnership of the members of the one hundred and fifteen Con-

gregational churches and institutions of the Chicago area. . . . Its goal is the building of a strong friendly relationship among all its partners and through this relationship a more fruitful and satisfying life and service, which, in turn, shall go far toward the transformation of life in the great city."

The section on goals is as follows:

"The general goals, then, of the present Fellowship Plan are:

I. A strong invigorating fellowship in the entire Congregational group in the great city. New and closer relationships should take place along three different lines:
 1. Between the suburban church and the Inner City institution or foreign-speaking group or church.
 2. Between the several suburban churches which are working together for the same Inner City institution.
 3. Between the Inner City institutions which are being backed and aided by the same suburban group. This intermingling of common interests should bring about many new and valuable relationships throughout the Congregational fellowship.

II. Through this fellowship, the making of a real impact on all the areas where our Congregational institutions are situated.

III. Through this strength of fellowship and united attack on areas for which our Congregational fellowship is responsible, a vital influence must be exercised on the entire Chicago area because our institutions are working in all the strategic centers of the city.

IV. And further, because these centers have so many interracial and international contacts, this influence may well reach beyond the city boundary. An outstanding example is the splendid piece of international work that is being fostered at the Filipino Community Center at 837 North La Salle Street. Here by furnishing home influence, an educational and religious program as well as legal and consular aid to this most unfortunate of any of our national groups, we are already attracting the attention of prominent Filipinos in the Islands and bringing about a real international spirit of good will

which is bound to further permeate the Islands as the Chicago Filipinos return home."

In the section on results the head of one of the institutional centers is quoted as saying: "What a change this Plan has wrought! A few years ago we seemed to be working alone in our area. Now it seems as if the whole church was not only behind us, but with us." The realizing of such a partnership is a splendid accomplishment. In the whole exploration of the city societies nothing of greater importance than this Fellowship Plan was found.

Content of Promotion

Although the methods of promotion differ only slightly from society to society, the content of material used in promotional activities shows a wide difference. This difference has its basis in the two attitudes already mentioned.

Effect of attitudes on methods

Societies whose promotional interest is centered in getting money are confined chiefly to spreading news and human-interest stories designed to arouse interest to the point of giving. Financial appeals are the climax of almost all of their presentations. These societies generally neglect the larger educational aspects of promotion.

The societies that are trying to cultivate a constituency seldom resort to definite financial appeals. They stake their future success on ability to arouse interest in that for which they exist and in what they are trying to do. To be sure, they constantly illustrate with stories that are not lacking in the human touch. They may even strive to develop particular interest in the support of certain projects. But the main motive of their promotion is bound up in an effort to interpret and expand the underlying philosophy. To these societies promotion is education.

A clever promotional device

The most unique promotional device was initiated and used by Dr. James B. Fox, Executive Secretary of the Los

Angeles Baptist City Mission Society. Primarily it is a method of promotion, but it is so much more than that and illustrates so clearly the sound approach to the development of the work of the city society that it calls for special mention.

The second decade of the century in Los Angeles brought a marked increase in the foreign-speaking population and in the complications of urban life accompanying the development of a metropolitan community. Dr. Fox writes: "In 1919 and 1920 great changes had taken place in the population of Los Angeles, and a sense of rapidly increasing responsibility for the social welfare of the multitudes occupying vast new communities on every hand stirred the City Mission Society to endeavor to discover a program that would be definitely constructive, not only along religious lines, but social, economic, and civic lines."

Consequently, in 1920, a "Five-Year Program" was launched. Primarily this program dealt with development of work among the foreign-speaking people. It consisted of providing and improving the equipment for the churches and institutions, giving special emphasis to the development of organizations and activities to enrich the social life of young people and reaching a climax in the improvement of both pastoral and lay leadership. Details of the program were filled in as it progressed. They included establishing Christian center activities and broadening their service, organizing men's civic clubs, boys' work, girls' clubs, clinics, kindergartens, playgrounds, and the Girls' Corner Club for business women and girls.

Secondarily, this program dealt with the English-speaking churches. It called for development of the churches already established, particularly through inauguration of more efficient organization policies, more definitely planned programs of community service, and more effective Christian education. The details included conferences with church boards, community surveys, and the provision of the services of a director of Christian education for part-time service.

The "Five-Year Program" proved to be of such value that upon its termination with unusual success, in 1925, a "Seven-Year Program" was inaugurated. This laid primary emphasis upon the development of buildings and equipment for English-speaking churches and upon the more specific adaptation of religious education to the needs of the various groups of foreign-speaking young people. Along with these there were three more general objectives—the development of a more real coöperation among the Baptist churches, the increase of interdenominational fellowship, and the breaking down of prejudices between nationality groups. This program also finished with a worthy record of accomplishment.

EVIDENCES OF SUCCESSFUL PROMOTION

Many evidences of successful promotion are to be found in the city societies. The success in most cases, however, is in some particular rather than in the whole enterprise.

In the Pittsburgh area the United Presbyterian denomination was the largest in 1900. By 1925 it had slipped to fourth place. With no city organization and no local denominational policy, the churches stranded by moving populations gradually had closed up and were not replaced. The city work was reorganized. A definite policy and program were adopted. The interest and backing of the constituency were obtained. Many of the older churches were closed or merged.[3] A number of new churches in the better recent residential developments were started with sufficient aid to make them churches of importance from the start. As a result of this aggressive plan, the denomination has taken on a new importance in the city.

When Bishop Williams came to the Diocese of Michigan, in 1906, he caught a vision of the needs and possibilities of the church. He organized a Church Club of nearly five

[3] There is no intention here of commending the almost complete withdrawal of the denomination from the more difficult situations in the city where a specially adapted ministry was needed. However, a definite though inadequate philosophy can be made effective.

hundred men for the purpose of passing on to them his understanding. Through these men it spread to the churches. New interest in and enlargement of church activities followed. Thus the diocese was prepared for a complete reorganization, in 1920, to create machinery by which a larger ministry could be carried out.

Several of the societies became the beneficiaries of large endowments because of their comprehensive approach to their task and the effect of their educational outreach.[4]

Two societies have studied the results of their activity and promotion with reference to the per capita giving in their churches. The Bay Cities Baptist Union found that contributions to denominational benevolences had increased three times as fast in the churches of their area as they had in the rest of the churches in the Northern California Baptist Convention. The Los Angeles Baptist City Mission Society, through its continuous effort, raised the per capita giving to denominational benevolences of the churches in its area to the highest in the denomination.

These illustrations show that where promotion has been developed against the background of a philosophy and consistently pursued as an educational process it has been effective. These successes indicate that it is reasonable to assume that a comprehensive philosophy carried through educational methods into a well-developed promotion may be expected to bring success.

Ends of Promotion

Promotion essentially is in order to get somewhere. Unless the objectives are definite, the forces to be used understood, and the situations to be taken into account appraised, there can be no reasonable expectancy of getting anywhere, no measured intelligence put to the task, and no enthusiasm in the efforts. In other words, a philosophy is essential to successful promotion.

[4] Cf. Problems of Finance in chapter vii for an enlargement of this illustration.

The ends of promotion are the realization of the objectives. It is the means to accomplish purposes. In the case of the city societies, the accomplishments in bringing into reality the ideas behind the organizations and the adequate churching of the city show to what extent promotion has been effective.

II. ACCOMPLISHMENTS

In addition to deductions drawn from the analysis of what the societies do, their organization, and their promotion, the summary of accomplishment is based on statements of the executives in answer to a three-fold question. What are the most positive accomplishments of the society in relation to: (1) its denomination? (2) the local churches of the denomination? and, (3) the churching of the city in the broadest sense?

The Ideas

Inasmuch as the ideas that have emerged in the evolution of the societies came out of their practical experience, automatically they became objectives which they sought to attain.

NEED FOR MISSIONARY WORK IN THE CITY

Without a definite realization that the city presented many needs for missionary service, the societies never would have been started. As understanding of the city has grown, the appreciation of the needs have greatly increased. The analysis of the work of the societies reveals that they have undertaken to meet many different needs in many different ways. The knowledge of the needs has always been ahead of the ability of the societies to meet them. Consequently there are everywhere plans for enlarging the work as soon as funds and organizations make it possible. The record of aid given to a great variety of projects provided to serve many kinds of people is the record of accomplishment in the realization of this objective. The executives considered

one of their largest contributions the help that had been given to local churches in the form of aid to needy churches, help in emergency situations, maintenance of institutions for special service, and the assistance in grants and loans toward buildings and equipment.

INCLUSION OF SOCIAL WORK

The attempt to meet the needs of the city with simple churches which had traditional programs was early found inadequate. This led to the development of projects with broader programs, including many activities in the nature of social ministry. The variety of projects found in the classification shows a wide development in this direction. The trend toward concentration on more complicated and highly-developed projects indicates that this type of work is increasingly regarded as important.

Through the efforts of the societies this idea has been built into the life of the church. Programs of community adjustment, neighborhood houses, Christian centers, all are built upon the purpose to provide social ministry to the people of the city. The specialized institutions carry the idea farther. The particular ministries of social work activities, a list too long to be repeated, add other interpretations. This idea has become very real in the work of the societies.

The constituency of the societies did not universally approve this departure in program. For some years it was necessary to educate the people to the value of this type of service as the work grew. Now, however, practically all of the executives testified that their constituencies were committed to this broadening of the ministry of the church and that the largest part of their grants of aid was to carry on this sort of work.

UNITY OF THE CHURCHES

The executives agree that the most positive accomplishment of their societies is in the direction of building a

conscious entity and unity among the churches of their denominations in the city. They are not unmindful of the weakness in the unity nor of the difficulties which they have to face on this account. However, in the light of the almost complete lack of unity of other days they measure a great advance. This is the major accomplishment in relation to the denomination; a substantial, self-conscious foundation in the local urban area, capable of functioning as a unified force.

Many things have contributed to the development of this unity: the recognition of a common task to which all of the churches have been called by the societies; the service in which all of the churches have shared from a common source, the activities in which there has been fellowship in working together; and the sense of partnership which is beginning to be felt in some denominational groups of churches and is being significantly realized through the Fellowship Plan among the Congregationalists in Chicago.

This idea arose in the necessity of making an effective power for churching the city out of the many denominational enterprises. An instrument for such purpose is now a reality.

SHARING

Sharing, as a means of achieving the equalization of church opportunity, has not come to any significant realization. To be sure, the stronger churches have provided a large part of the funds used to aid the weaker churches, the service and general activities have been shared alike by all; but the differences between wealthy and poor among churches are as great as among people. To attain the degree of equalization that educational opportunity has reached in the public schools, the churches have a long way to go.

The ratio of the amount of money which the churches contribute to the weaker members of their group through the work of their city societies to the amount they spend on

themselves indicates that the term "sharing" is a gross exaggeration.

SCIENTIFIC APPROACH TO PROBLEMS

It is more difficult to appraise the accomplishment of a scientific approach to the problems of churching and serving the city. The executives reveal in their conversation that they are thinking about the problems in such terms. The use of essential basic facts is increasing. More or less thorough surveys are made preceding the consideration of proposals or plans. The trends in the distribution of home-mission aid give evidence of increasingly sound thinking on the part of administrative boards. With all of this, however, the only place where research and survey have been established in a scientific way and made a recognized process is in Chicago.

CITY CHURCH PLANNING

Planning the work of the church against the background of the city and its needs is necessarily a coöperative process. The unity of the denominational forces in the city makes an entity which can participate effectively in coöperation. This has been manifest in comity, which in many cities is strongly established. The intelligent planning of the total work of a denomination in a city is part of a city plan. But such planning has in no sense become real. It is far too sporadic and piece-meal to have contributed in any significant fashion to a city-wide plan. When more positive denominational planning is made and the inhibitions to co-operation are removed, the track will be cleared for the broader approach to planning.

Again it must be noted that the United Survey in Chicago has laid the foundations for a city church plan.

ADEQUACY

The aims that have to do with the adequate churching of the city are not objective standards imposed upon the city

societies, but have come out of the experience of the societies themselves. The scientific studies only analyzed the situations and more clearly defined the principles.

ADAPTATION

In the effort of the churches to make their way in the midst of urban life the need for adaptation of particular churches to their environments was discovered. The city societies are largely responsible for the extensive practical use to which this principle has been put. Their primary function, especially in recent years, has been making the right kind of churches. Where scientific research has been used, striking success has resulted. Where less intelligent procedure has been followed, the success has been less sure. In spite of the large accomplishment, much remains to be done before the whole city has the right kind of churches.

The accomplishments in the direction of enough churches for the city have been, first, by way of the elimination of many feeble and dying churches where there were too many; and second, in starting new churches in areas protected by coöperative agreements from competition. The responsibility for the overchurching which still remains is very largely with the non-coöperative denominations and churches.

These same two factors have brought about accomplishments in the direction of getting the churches into the right places. Further improvement in this direction waits upon the developments of coöperation and planning.

INSTITUTIONAL EFFICIENCY

The city societies have contributed greatly to the increase of institutional efficiency in the local churches. The distribution of aid, particularly when it has been done with a policy of making larger grants to fewer projects, has been effective. The service to the churches in helping to solve problems, in selecting better-qualified leadership, and in

advising in regard to the improvement of programs has made marked improvements. The general program, especially in such activities as religious education, has developed better lay leadership and methods. All of these things have brought about organizations in which the members are better served.

The churches have reached higher and higher standards. While national and regional averages of size, program, and equipment have not been definitely set up as standards, they have been unavoidably behind the plans of the society in trying to make the churches better institutions.

Grants of aid on the basis of the necessary cost of a well-developed institution, the size of the constituency, and the ability of the people to pay according to their economic status have not been worked out. Consequently, the institutional development, when aid is involved, has not yet been properly stabilized.

COÖPERATION

The limitation of coöperation caused by the reservations of the denominations makes it difficult to estimate its strength and accomplishments. Comity, in spite of its predominantly negative approach, has made a significant impression, in most cities in the distribution of new fields and in some in the distribution of responsibility for the ministry to more difficult areas. The executives, with only a few exceptions, spoke of their accomplishments in relation to the broader aspects of churching the city in terms of doing their share of the whole task, new churches, foreign-speaking churches, institutional work, and so forth.

Reciprocity and coördination have thus begun. Only a step or two more, and the city societies will find themselves in the midst of constructive forward-looking coöperation. This will expand the present meager coöperative activities, joint projects, and planning into a comprehensive strategy for the whole task of the church in the city.

STRATEGY

Out of experience the city societies have developed policies which are in the direction of strategy. No process, however, can be dignified by the term strategy, unless it includes the whole city and all of the Protestant forces in its consideration, and takes into account the basic economic and social forces and their effects upon the churches.

In *The Strategy of City Church Planning* Ross W. Sanderson follows his definition of strategy quoted in the introduction with a statement of the chief requirements of a common strategy: "Knowledge of social trends, knowledge of church progress, and the will to use knowledge for the benefit of the community." He revealed that basic facts can be known, such as the effect of social and economic trends on the progress of churches, the factors that make churches fail in spite of favorable surroundings, and the factors that make churches succeed in spite of unfavorable surroundings.

This sort of strategy is to be found in only the humblest beginnings in a very few cities.

The city societies can be proud of their accomplishments so far as they go. They have made conspicuous advances in the realization of their objectives and their progress has been in the right direction. These accomplishments are all the more significant if they are taken as an earnest of farther advances into territory the borders of which they have already reached.

Part Two

Interpretations

Chapter VII

PROBLEMS

The report now comes to the second part, which deals with interpretations. This chapter presents a critique of the city societies. The societies face many difficulties which reveal the weaker places in their thinking, organization, and programs. So that the criticism may be real rather than theoretical, it is centered on the actual problems with which the societies have to deal in their every-day life. These problems were revealed in the search for the data about the societies, in conferences with the executives and lay leaders, and in the endeavor to explain various situations and limitations.

The discussion is confined to those problems which were found in enough of the societies to indicate that they were of general importance and inherent in denominationally organized city work. The individual problems of particular societies are consequently neglected, even though they are of great importance to the society which has to meet them.

The problems that the city societies face are very real and exceedingly serious. In several cases the societies are all but completely baffled and the impossibility of solving its problems has caused one society practically to cease activity. While many problems were evident in the foregoing analysis, here they are treated *per se*. The discussion of the problems follows the same order as the presentation of the factual material.

Problems of Understanding

The basic problems have to do with understanding. The societies have been so busy doing things that little time has

been taken by the leaders to sit down and deliberately think out specific responsibilities and plan courses of action.

In view of the importance of the city societies in the present-day church in this country, it is no longer fair or reasonable for them to continue to develop their work in opportunistic fashion. It is time for them to take thought.

LACK OF PHILOSOPHY

Practically all the societies feel the need of a comprehensive and reasonably complete philosophy. It is little wonder that they have had difficulty in making progress; in fact, it is remarkable that they have progressed so far with such indefinite understanding of where they were going. The statements of purpose are entirely inadequate for the functions which they exercise. Few clear-cut objectives are set down in black and white. Their practice has outrun their professions. It is not unreasonable to expect that, if they knew better where they wanted to go, more progress could be made, and more value given to what they do.

Not only do the societies need definite objectives, but they need to know what kind of an organization is best fitted for accomplishing such objectives; they need to consider what relationships are necessary, how they can be developed and made effective, and what processes are required to realize their objectives and bring about an adequate churching of the city. The answers to all these questions are obtained in the century of experience that the societies have had, but it requires time and thought to dig them out and build them into a coherent philosophy.

With the present lack of any such philosophy, it is not surprising that to a large extent the constituency of the societies is uninitiated. It is impossibe to extend an understanding to the constituency when the leaders do not have it themselves. A number of executives confessed that the members of the churches did not know what the work of the society was all about, and that a larger number and

greater variety of projects had been developed and subsidized than the constituency had been educated to support.

INFLUENCE OF TRADITION

Without a forward-looking philosophy, the constituency of the societies has largely had its mind set to outworn purposes, to older functions that have been greatly extended, and to smaller budgets of bygone days. This conservatism has hampered the development of the societies. The more recently organized among them, which were started to carry out a modern program, have a distinct advantage in the absence of the limitations of tradition.

Sometimes such conservatism is represented on the administrative boards, and there is a conflict between the ideas of the executives, who see farther ahead, and of the members, who have not grasped the broader outlook and function into which the societies have come.

Where there are intimate relationships with state denominational bodies, a conflict between the rural and urban mind usually hampers the work. The latter understands the complicated needs and the requirements for large appropriations which are entirely outside the experience of the former.

Problems of Program

The programs of the city societies have developed, for the most part, on an opportunistic basis. Practically all started simply to administer home-mission aid in their cities. Activity after activity has been added, either because of the demand of some group of people or because a need arose in connection with the missionary work. Rarely have programs been extended on the basis of the general theory of the responsibility of the societies.

UNBALANCED PROGRAMS

Fortunately few, if any, of the things that the societies do are unimportant. There is, however, a great difference in

relative importance. Programs in many instances, are unbalanced in two respects. First the societies, in their preoccupation with many things of lesser importance have neglected some that are more important. Witness, for example, the absolute lack of religious education in the programs of some societies, while in others of the same denomination the greatest importance is attached to it. Secondly, in the same society the various activities are unequally developed. Some things have been done very effectively while others have received such slight attention that they have never become effective. A society is sometimes judged in the minds of its constituency and of outsiders on the basis of the things with which it has only puttered.

When it comes to the societies of different denominations in the same city, the inequalities in the development of activities hamper the possibilities of coördination and of a united approach to the serving of the whole city.

WHAT SHOULD A CITY SOCIETY DO?

While circumstances in the various cities and denominations call for some differences in emphasis in the work of the city societies, basically the needs in all cities are the same. In the main, then, the societies should do the same things. The breadth of experience in such widely distributed societies and over such a long period of time makes possible a standardization of practice and methods. A functional standard is more logical than the standards in use, which deal with size of city, organization, and budget.

For example, the three main functions of the societies, home-mission aid, service to churches, and general program, are so universally found that they can be considered as essential functions. Nevertheless, service to churches and general program are rarely recognized officially as part of the city societies' task. When it comes to the details there is essential agreement, but there is no common recognition of the place of various activities in the program.

In determining general standards of what the city

societies should do such questions as these require answers: Should neighborhood houses and other analogous projects be conducted by the societies? Or is this type of program the responsibility of the secular social agencies? If they should be undertaken by the societies, should the underlying purpose be ministering to the needs of the people of the community? Or should it be merely a means of making contacts with people in order to win them to the church?

To answer questions of this kind would outline a standard program of soundly grounded activities, and would contribute materially to the underlying philosophy.

PROBLEMS OF AID

Many problems in the use of home-mission aid are yet to be solved. In many societies aid is granted to the same projects from several different funds. The matter of accounting does not make it possible to know how much aid is actually given to each enterprise. Furthermore, the records are such that the history of aid to any project is not known. Without such fundamental knowledge aid cannot be intelligently distributed.

This leads to the whole problem of the basis for granting aid. In most cases it seems to have been supply and demand rather than any plan for the efficient expenditure of funds. The enterprise making the strongest demand gets the most money when it is available. When the supply of funds diminishes, the enterprises that can most easily be cut take the brunt of lessened appropriations. There is little evidence of any attempt to measure the usefulness of a project in the light of the purposes of the societies and to adjust appropriations of funds on this basis. It is possible that the appropriations of city missionary funds on the basis of scientific appraisal of usefulness would make only minor changes in the amounts of money given and the projects aided, but no one knows this, and not to know is a very serious fault.

A scientific appraisal of the aided enterprises would have the additional value of being the first step toward overcoming competition between the denominations. Closely related to this is the problem of chronic dependence and the pauperizing of churches by continuing aid for many years.

Two problems have arisen out of partial policies for readjusting aid. Concentration on the development of new churches in new areas results in slipping out of responsibility for the more difficult situations in older areas. When there is a policy of doing away with small enterprises receiving dribbles of aid, in order to concentrate on doing more adequate work in the major projects, problems concerning stranded churches where need for service still exists are involved.

There are two fundamental problems connected with aid. One of the essential requirements for successful ministry is that a church be an indigenous expression of the people who compose it. Aid is required by churches because the people are unable to provide leadership and equipment for an adequate ministry. How can aid be provided in sufficient amount to provide an adequate enterprise and at the same time keep it as a real expression of its people? Societies have tried to get around this difficulty by granting as little aid as possible so as to keep as much of the responsibility as they can on the shoulders of the church. This, however, fails to provide an adequate ministry.

The second problem concerns the borderline churches that do not receive aid, but have to spend the funds which would go to denominational benevolence in order to pay for the ministry to their own communities. According to present reckoning the denominational standing of these churches is impaired although in reality they are doing creditable work. A few of the societies have endeavored to solve this problem by granting such churches aid to the amount of their benevolence quotas, so that they could pay out of their own funds their share in the denominational program.

Problems of Organization

Some of the organizational problems have to do with the unity of the denominational missionary work in the cities. These are considered in the section on problems of relationships. Most of the problems in this classification are comparatively simple and easy of solution. The correction of these difficulties should provide a more smoothly working and more efficient organization.

DEPARTMENTAL ORGANIZATION

The only virtue in departmental organization is that it gives a simple basis for planned structure. The only point in organization is to provide an instrument which can accomplish purposes with facility. In embryo through the distinct levels of committees simple departmentalization is to be found in all of the societies. In the process of fitting organizations to a definite structural plan, however simple it may be, difficulties can be readily overcome, machinery made to articulate with complete facility, responsibility better distributed among committees, and means of coördinating program developed.

STAFF

The many experiments carried on by societies in the use of different kinds of specialized staff have not resulted in definite conclusions regarding what staff members are needed to do the societies' work. Here again definition of objectives and appraisals of experience provide a basis for determining what staff is required to carry on a standard program. For example, seven societies have directors of religious education. Are these luxuries or necessities? If the latter, they are needed by the other societies also.

Unquestionably it will be found that the specialized staff which is desirable is beyond the means of most societies. However the specialized staff which all of the societies and the church federation in any city together can provide

would probably meet the requirements. Heretofore the staff in the different organizations has been planned on the basis of duplication; what one had the others wanted. If there was a plan of complementary service, a coöperative staff could be far more adequate than that which any single organization could provide.

COMMITTEE PERSONNEL

Half of the societies studied used eighty-eight or fewer different people in all committees. Three-quarters of the societies used 125 or fewer. One of the largest societies has only three-quarters as many persons in its committee personnel as there are churches of its denomination in the area. It is simpler to conduct an organization with relatively few people, but to make a vital expression of the constituency a wide representation is required in the administrative processes.

Another obvious defect in the representative character of the committee personnel is the very small proportion of women and of young people.

GEOGRAPHICAL AREA

Several societies have found difficulties on account of the limitations of the area included in their organizations. Some are confined to the area of the city proper. A few, circumscribed by ecclesiastical boundaries, have even less than the city itself. Such limited areas do not provide a suitable unit. Problems and circumstances constantly arise that draw the societies beyond their borders and involve places beyond their technical reach. The societies that have larger areas find it much easier to do a comprehensive work. In fact no area was found to be too large.

Experience would seem to indicate that the metropolitan area, at least, should be included in city society organizations, even when important secondary cities are involved. In Los Angeles the Presbyterian organization includes all of the metropolitan area, with the cities of Pasadena, Long

Beach and others in the suburban area, and the rural area contributary to Los Angeles. It even reaches to the city of San Diego, 135 miles away. The great extent of this area has brought no difficulties, in fact has been found a distinct advantage in many ways. The Baptist organization is confined to the city of Los Angeles. It includes parts of two associations but not all of either. Consequently its usefulness is distinctly limited. The Methodist organization, confined to the ecclesiastical district, is even less extensive than the city and finds that many of the problems that ought to be handled by the society are beyond its reach and that churches which need the society do not have access to the service which it could give.

During recent years the radius of the influence of cities has been greatly extended. The city reaches out to its surroundings for food, to protect itself by health regulations, water supply, and disposal, and to find its recreation in parks. The country people reach into the cities for modern conveniences, such as power and light, and for amusment, and to supply their various needs in city stores.

City planning has been extended to regional planning. City newspapers regularly circulate in an extensive territory. Department stores carry on free delivery service to a radius of from thirty to fifty miles. The city has become the center of thought and regular movement for a wide area. These facts are as significant from the standpoint of the administration of denominational functional units as from other standpoints.

The area of the city societies is related to the area of the state denominational organization. There are many possible combinations in the relationship of these two administrative bodies. They represent a wide range of situations. On the one hand, where there is limited denominational strength in a smaller city, the administration is logically carried on by the state organization with definite adaptations to the urban situation. On the other hand, where the metropolitan district includes a large part of the area of the

state and comprises most of its denominational strength, the city society might well administer the work of the whole state. In states that have many cities administrative units could be planned so that the areas of the city societies included all of the state.

Another aspect of the problem of area concerns difficulties of relationships within the cities. In no cities are the areas of the societies of the different denominations the same. This makes coöperation difficult, complicates the consideration of comity questions, and weakens the possibilities of developing a unified total city work. The wide differences in area are shown in Appendix Chart IV, which gives the boundaries of the areas of the societies in Detroit.

THE SMALL CITY

Such work as city societies do is needed in the small city just as much as in the large city, only on a smaller scale. Only the larger cities, however, have been able to provide successfully for such a program. Volunteer organizations, tried in many smaller cities, cannot render adequate service.

In connection with the field work three situations in the city of Sacramento, California, were studied. One denomination had tried a city society only to find that the denominational strength was too limited to get anywhere. Another denomination is planning an organization because a group of strong lay leaders have become conscious of the need of developing denominational unity and of enlarging the ministry to the city. In the third situation a volunteer society has come along in a feeble way for a great many years. Many creditable things have been done. A series of interested and active laymen have kept it alive, but it has never been able to make a significant impression upon the ministry of that denomination in the city.

In the state of Ohio an interesting experiment is under way. A city specialist has been put on the staff of the state Baptist organization. He is in charge of the work in seven cities. Most of these cities have societies of which he is the

executive. It means non-resident, part-time leadership, but the organizations are of the cities themselves. Programs have been established and strengthened, some supervision has been made possible, and continuity of activity has been planned. This experiment may show the way to meeting the needs of the small city.[1]

THE SMALL DENOMINATION

What can the small denomination, or the denomination with one, two or perhaps six churches in a city, do about the organization for city work? In a few cases state or regional organizations might do a little. In most cases, however, even if there are state organizations they are predominantly rural and unequipped to understand city needs. The only likely way in which they can participate in constructive city programs and find a place in the sun is through coöperation with the other denominations. In such coöperation a definite and important place can be made for the small denomination and they can have the advantage of fellowship in common activity with a larger group.

Problems of Finance

Of all the problems those having to do with finance are most frequent and most serious. In fact only one society has no such problems. The rest had from one to seven each, a total of ninety-six distinct problems of finance noted in thirty-two societies.

DIMINISHING INCOME

For a number of years the city societies have been faced with diminishing income. The problems on this account have deep-seated causes.

The Effects of the Depression: The city societies have not escaped the effects of the depression, which in most cases have been seriously felt. Budgets have been pared, expenditures have been cut to necessities. In a number of cases

[1] Cf. Historical Bibliography, Reference 14.

salaries have been slightly cut; in others they have been cut to the limit and are in arrears.

The most significant fact, however, is not that the depression affected most of the societies, but that a few of them were not affected by it in any significant way. Of two societies in the same city one received a larger income from individuals and also from invested funds in the year preceding the study than in any of the other years analyzed. The other society had so much less income from all sources that it had to go out of business. The explanation for such a situation cannot be found in general economic conditions.

Why could some of the societies withstand the depression without difficulty? Eight societies are as well or better off now than they were five years ago. Three facts are common to these eight societies. First, they have endowment funds, either in the form of invested capital or of trust funds of which they are the beneficiaries, which yield from 10 to 90 per cent. of their annual incomes. Secondly, they have accumulated surplus funds either in cash balances or in expendable invested funds which are available for use when necessary. Thirdly, they have a sound financial organization and a definite financial policy. As one of the executives expressed the policy of his society, "we never contract for the expenditure of any money unless there are sufficient funds *in hand* to cover the expenditure."

The societies that have endowments are frequently looked upon as exceptionally favored by fortune, an endowment being considered a sort of "act of God," or a mere matter of luck. A more accurate view would probably be that "God helps those that help themselves." This was certainly the explanation in the outstanding case of the Congregational Union of Chicago, which woke up one morning to find that the will of the late Victor Lawson, of the *Chicago Daily News*, provided a trust fund of approximately four million dollars from which the Union was to receive the income. Among Mr. Lawson's personal effects was found a complete

file of the annual reports of the Union with notations which indicated that for years he had carefully watched the work with the eye of a careful appraiser and had found it worthy of his major bequest.

In another city where the society of a different denomination was made the beneficiary of a sizeable trust fund it was found that for several years the executive had been cultivating the donor. He talked with him for hours about the problems of the church in the city, of the plans and purposes of the society, and of the needs for larger income. He took him to visit the various projects of the society, and explained their purpose and usefulness. At the same time this same executive was cultivating four other men of wealth in similar fashion, feeling assured that at least one of them would catch his vision and make possible by a large gift the work that he saw was needed.

Another situation illustrates what might have been done by any society. Thirty-five years ago the trustees stated to this society their belief that an endowment was necessary to provide sufficient funds for the work that should be done by a denomination in a city. At their suggestion the constitution of the society was amended to provide that such a fund be built up by taking a certain percentage of the regular income each year. Although the percentage was small, after thirty-five years, with the addition of a few bequests, there is now enough invested to provide about 60 per cent. of the annual income.

The Denominational Forward Movements: Diminishing incomes cannot be laid at the door of the depression, for in most cases the incomes were decreasing at almost as rapid a rate even during the years of prosperity. In fact, the incomes of the societies reached their peak about ten years ago. This was the time when the great forward movement campaigns of the denominations were under way—The Centenary Movement, the New World Movement, the New Era Movement, and the rest. The city societies were in-

volved in these campaigns. The needs of the cities were studied, roseate pictures were painted of the possibilities of the city society work, large appropriations of money were made, greater amounts were promised for the future. The city societies had come into their own at last. They undertook extensive programs, they built fine buildings for their missions and institutions, they set a splendid pace which called for large expenditures, but the promise was unfulfilled. Almost immediately the great appropriations began to be cut down. Faster and faster they slipped, the city societies were left with a large and expensive program on their hands. For a decade they have been trimming in their efforts to stay within their incomes. This necessary retrenchment from a great start made a difficult psychology under which to work, created the wrong kind of problems for such organizations to meet, and set the stage generally for their failure.

Financial Organization and Policy: Nevertheless the denominational city church-extension agencies have not failed. On the contrary, a number of them have built striking success out of the very material of failure. Their boards and executives in the early days of this last disastrous decade saw the situation and set themselves to build a financial organization and policy which would stand on its own feet and prove adequate in its own right. They created new sources of income, established their programs to fit the money which they had, and undertook an aggressive approach to the development of their constituencies and a new broadening of their work. The whole temper of the organizations was changed and those societies which stand on a sound financial basis have continuously enlarged their scope and usefulness. Only a few societies have failed, and those between success and failure have been saved not because they deserved to be, but by grim determination. Snatching every straw of immediate opportunism they have "pulled" through so far.

INADEQUATE INCOME

Conditions within the situations of some societies provide an income which is inherently inadequate to the missionary needs of their areas. In addition to lack of financial organization already mentioned there are five causes of inadequate income which make for definite problems.

Financial Inability of the Churches: On account of the regional development of denominations, some of them in all of the cities are relatively weak. In most of these cases no attempt has been made to organize city societies. There are, however, marginal cases where a few churches of moderate strength desire to add to the strength of the denomination locally by extension, and to realize the values in focusing local interest and resources on some definite missionary activity. Such desire has usually outstripped resources. It has been found that there was not enough strength to have a society comparable to those of the other denominations and not enough money to do significant missionary work.

The problem presented by such cases has frequently been solved by merging city missionary programs in state denominational organizations. Where this has been done the city organization has usually been retained for its value in developing unity and self-consciousness among the churches of the city, but with a very limited function, such as holding property of missionary enterprises and assisting in building new churches. This is apparently the best solution. It tends, however, to dissipate the interest and enthusiasm of the constituencies, which cannot be expressed for an insignificant remnant of a city society and will not be focused on state organizations unless they magnify the work in the city.

A few cases were also found where the resources of the denomination locally were not commensurate with the size of its constituency or with the over-large needs for missionary service. A situation of this kind makes for an organization that is quite able to function, but has an income

inadequate for programs. Unless the income can be pieced out in some unusual way the society becomes a feeble affair.

Dependence on the Denomination: Too many societies have fallen back upon denominational home-mission boards for subsidies. While this has saved the day for the societies it has created further problems. They have been subject to the fluctuating income of the home-mission boards and the adjustments of appropriations often due to political influence. The boards have assumed increased control, and the dependent societies have lost their right to independent action and initiative, particularly in responsibility for their own finances.

In several of the societies of the smaller denominations the denominational boards have assumed direct responsibility for the mission work in the city, leaving the societies practically divorced from the primary programs so that they became even smaller than they were.

Lack of Coöperation of Churches: In congregationally organized denominations the inadequate income of some city societies can be accounted for by lack of coöperation on the part of some churches which could, if they would, provide additional funds. This failure to coöperate is usually because of reactionary conservatism, which sees the more aggressive and liberal ministers and laymen in the leadership of the city society. In the denominations that act in accordance with the majority ruling of their ecclesiastical bodies differences between conservatives and liberals, which might prevent united action, usually do not affect the situation.

Interest and Debts: Other instances of inadequate income are found in societies which have been very aggressive during recent years in purchasing property for new churches and in helping to build new church buildings. Payments on the loans and interest charges, which were to have been carried by the churches that had the new buildings, have fallen back on the societies. Meeting these obligations has absorbed resources which would have been used for carrying

on the projects. One society would have been visited by the sheriff long ago had it not been for the fact that banks have little use for church buildings.

Unequal Extension: A final cause of inadequate income is found in five societies which have undertaken too many projects that are costly and long-time liabilities. Most of these are very worthy enterprises in themselves, and the societies are to be commended for the development of their missionary programs. They have failed, however, to develop projects which would make strong churches that could provide funds for the local missionary work. This failure has finally proven a severe handicap, necessitating the abandonment of fine projects and an increase of indebtedness which, in the very nature of the case, it is impossible to pay. Several societies will very likely be compelled to liquidate and start afresh. One society already has been forced virtually to close its work.

One case of unequal extension is exactly the reverse of the others. The whole missionary program has been concentrated on laying the foundations for and assisting in the development of strong churches directly for the purpose of reëstablishing the denomination in the area. To do this, the societies have retreated from the truly missionary situations and have not developed community service to underprivileged people. This is incipiently quite as serious a problem as the reverse situation.

FINANCIAL METHODS

Certain problems are centered in weaknesses of financial method. Some of these conditions have arisen out of the indifference of the administrative boards and their executives and others on account of circumstances outside of the control of the societies, such as the requirement to conform to denominational methods.

Inadequate Accounting: All but one of the societies made annual financial reports. This society never has had an annual financial statement or an audit in its whole his-

tory. In a large number of cases these reports were professionally audited. Frequently, however, they were incomplete. Many lacked statements of assets and liabilities, and where these were present they were often decidedly misleading. In other respects the reports did not give a clear picture of the work of the societies. In one case the annual reports gave no indication of the methods of "high finance" that have been used to keep the books balanced. In over half of the societies studied the money is kept in a number of different funds from which transfers are made back and forth and from each of which appropriations are made to projects. Sometimes a single project will be granted money from three or four different funds at different times during the year. When there were several agencies of the same denomination making grants to mission projects in the same city there was no possibility of getting a complete financial picture of the work.

Such a simple tool of administration as a table giving the amount of the appropriations to the various projects from year to year was found in the office of only one society, and there it was the voluntary product of an efficient office secretary. This information in some cases was easy to compile; in others, because of many accounts, it was very difficult; in a few it could only be gathered from a long perusal of minute books, and in some cases it was not in existence.

Limited Sources of Income: Several of the societies receive a disproportionate amount of their income from a single source. With reasonably sufficient income, they have failed to develop other sources, and thus have sacrificed the advantages of broadened interest as well as of increased income. In two cases, the largest part of the income is from endowment or trust funds; in another, it is from a very small proportion of the churches (two out of twenty-seven), and there are two cases where it is obtained by the personal solicitation of the executive.

When the sources of income are limited there is a lack of substantial and stable underpinning. When such income

is sufficient it tends to make a static rather than an aggressive, broadening program, as in the case of one society which has had the same limited program for many years.

No Unified Appeal: Eight societies have found that a unified appeal for interest in and support of the work has been impossible. In half of these cases it is because there is work in the city being carried on by more than one agency. The balance have departments which are autonomous and are separately financed. This device has been an easy method of getting a larger number of people interested and of obtaining more funds; but it is at the expense of the development of a substantial foundation that is to be found in a constituency with a comprehensive understanding of the whole task and program.

Coöperation with the Denomination: Several denominations, unfortunately those in which city societies have been most aggressively developed have set up standards of coöperation that have worked definite hardship on the societies and have seriously limited them in their development. One denomination has compelled the city societies to agree to make no direct solicitation of funds for their own work if they are to share in the coöperative denominational budgets. A second denomination has so controlled the distribution of its home-mission funds that the more money that was locally raised the less, proportionately, was received for local work. In a third denomination the control of the distribution of home-mission funds has been held so closely in the national board that societies have had almost no initiative.

CAPITAL FUNDS

When it was discovered that the possession of capital funds was so generally considered advantageous, the lack of them came to be looked upon as a definite problem. Five societies have made no effort to accumulate such funds.

In nearly half of the societies studied, certain capital funds have been accumulated, which had been raised as

loan funds to assist churches in building new structures. The intention was to employ this money as revolving funds for repeated use in helping different churches. It was generally found, however, that such funds do not revolve. Relatively small in amount (never over half a million dollars) and with limited spread, the revolving is so slow that in fourteen societies these funds are completely frozen in property. The money has not only ceased to produce income but has become a positive liability because the societies are ultimately responsible for the property, its upkeep, and any other indebtedness that may be against it. Two societies that have purchased lots for future churches have had to let the property go. One society went into the real estate business, purchased a tract of land, took a church site and sold the balance of the property for as much as they had paid for the whole tract. The same device was tried a second time, just before the collapse of real estate values, and now there is great difficulty meeting the expense of holding the land.

Fortunately only two societies have been caught by the recent series of bank difficulties. One has had its surplus funds tied up in a closed bank. The other owned stock in a bank that failed and has lost approximately $400,000.

Two societies attempted to build up capital funds by taking annuities. In both cases the result has been all but disastrous. Property was involved which became nonproductive and securities which ceased to pay dividends, but the payment of the annuities remained the first lien on the total income. What was intended for an asset became a serious liability. The city societies are too localized and have in no case sufficient capital invested to run the risks involved in annuities.

Problems of Relationships

In the realm of relationships there are a number of problems, the most serious of which are those that have to do

with the unity of city work and the relationships within the denomination.

UNITY IN CITY WORK

Inasmuch as the city societies have taken on such importance in denominational life, it would be natural to suppose that all of the denominational activity in these urban centers has been unified in these organizations. This is, however, very far from the case. The many ways in which such unity is impinged upon is most amazing.

Direct Appropriations of Home-mission Boards: The city societies are the agents of the national home-mission boards. They are held responsible by these boards for the missionary work of the denominations in their areas. Yet in twelve out of the thirty-three agencies studied the national denominational boards make appropriations direct to the missionary projects in the cities. In some cases checks go directly from the boards to the workers concerned and in the rest they go through the treasuries of the societies, with specific designations, so that the boards of the local societies have nothing whatever to say about the expenditures. This makes supervision of the projects a difficult problem, because the hand which really controls is a long distance from the scene of activity. This condition has definitely limited the importance of the city societies in the denominational life, has greatly modified their usefulness, and may squeeze a number of them out of the picture.

National Board Projects: Home-mission boards have gone farther than this in their direct connections in the cities. In ten cases projects are carried forward directly by one or more of the national denominational agencies. In three cases the city societies have nothing whatever to do with the projects. They are seldom consulted regarding them, and the projects are occasionally promoted in competition with the societies' work. In one city there are five different national agencies of the same denomination conducting twelve different projects, all entirely apart from

the work of the city society. Other situations are just as bad. What possibility is there of a city strategy in the hands of an intelligent local group under such circumstances?

More Than One Local Agency: In eight instances there are two or more local agencies of the same denomination in a city. In two cases old social organizations have "found something to do" by sponsoring and supporting some missionary projects. A long-standing prestige has given them persistence. One of these organizations has a very large endowment and carries on important projects entirely independently. The other is coördinated with the program of the regular agency because it has the same office and executive.

Separate local church building societies are also found. When the metropolitan area includes two or more major cities there are sometimes city societies in each one.

The denominational women's organizations in the city frequently have special projects for which they provide the staff, the equipment, and the money. These are usually conducted with a great deal of enthusiasm and publicity.

Two societies have a dual organization. In one case it is to satisfy the requirements of both ecclesiastical structure and legal necessities of incorporation for holding property. In the other, it is to protect the strictly missionary funds for the payment of workers' salaries against a desperate condition of building indebtedness. Both are operated by the same personnel and, except for inconvenience and duplication of records, the arrangement causes only slight difficulty.

Occasionally churches are still found that carry on missions on their own account. This plan formerly accounted for much of the city work, but in late years such missions have generally been turned over to the city societies. Where the situation still exists, it contributes to the lack of unity in the city work.

Work by the State Denominational Organization: In a few cases where the societies are relatively small or financially weak the state denominational organization has directly assumed responsibility for some of the projects. The chief difficulties in these situations are wide difference in attitudes and methods in city and state work, and divisions of interest and support on the part of the churches which are related to both. Where all of the missionary work has been taken over by the state organization and the city organization has been left to do a limited specialized work, such as helping in the building of new churches, these difficulties have been satisfactorily overcome.

Workers of Women's Boards: The women's boards of home missions of the various denominations have taken as part of their work the supplying of women workers in the more highly-developed missionary enterprise in the cities. As a result half of the city societies studied have, in some of their projects, women workers who are appointed by, responsible to, and paid by the denominational women's board. This means that supervisors and secretaries of the boards are constantly in touch with these workers and see that they function in accordance with the programs and policies of their boards. They give instructions to the workers, even removing them, changing their positions or their fields, or putting in new workers, often without consulting the executives of the city societies who are responsible for the projects. But the workers are also responsible to the city societies and their executives. Obviously serious problems arise when there are too many bosses. One executive illustrated the difficult position of these women workers by a diagram which is reproduced in Appendix Chart V.

Here is a very delicate problem. This work of the women's boards is valuable. The women workers in the city field are essential and in most cases could not be obtained without the support of the women's mission boards; but the present method of procedure is inefficient and causes endless trouble. The only way in which the problem has been

dealt with so far is by refusing the help of the women's board. This has eliminated the difficulties but has not solved the problem.

In one society a similar situation concerns a very strong local women's organization. The director and supervisor of the women's workers has been made assistant superintendent of the city society. Plans and programs are unified and there is no occasion for friction. A plan of unified local administration where the national women's boards are concerned is essential to the solution of this problem.

General Workers of the Denomination: In four cities where there are ten societies of three denominations, twenty-eight general workers of the national denominational boards are located. Some of these are regional representatives of the national boards whose chief function is promotion. Several are directors of religious education who do their work in areas which include the cities and spend much of their time with the city churches. A number are directors of departments of the home-mission boards, such as work among Latin Americans, or Orientals, or others. These workers are located at the centers of the work represented by their particular departments, for example the superintendents of Latin American work are in Los Angeles. They supervise and are responsible for the projects which come under their departments.

Even where the relationships between these workers and the city societies are cordial the situation is complicated. This condition reflects a double approach to home-mission work on the basis both of geographical areas and of special kinds of work. Where these two approaches meet in a city, the work lacks unification and coördination. Under such circumstances it is difficult to plan a comprehensive program, to develop the interest and support of the local constituency to the whole program, and to work out helpful relationships between churches and mission projects. A friendly relationship of mutual conference has been developed in most societies, but the problem is not solved.

RESPONSIBILITY TO THE DENOMINATION

The relationships of the city societies to their denominations are dominated by processes of denominational centralization. This tends to develop a sense of dependence on the part of the societies, which logically is just the reverse of what the situation ought to be. No denomination exists apart from its constituency and no denomination can be developed from the top down. The constituency is in local churches and the city societies are the coöperative functional expression of these churches in the cities. They are on the level of the constituency. Consequently the denominations are dependent upon the city societies whether they like it or not. Relationships may have to be modified to fit this principle. The corresponding attitude, a sense of responsibility for the whole denominational program, must be developed in the city societies. This means that the societies will fully appreciate the obligation to foster and help pay for the general denominational home-mission program just as much as they do for home-missions in their own cities.

MORE ADEQUATE CONTROL

Most city societies do not have quite enough control over their churches to develop a completely efficient ministry. Somehow control must be attained. Obviously technical control is not enough, but the development of a genuine democratic process in which the churches actually participate both in working out plans and in putting them into practice certainly ought to bring about the essential coördinated action which is the object of control.

RESERVATIONS IN RESPECT TO COÖPERATION

As the transfer is being made in the thinking of the societies from the extension of the denomination to the development of a ministry to the whole city, one inevitable implication has not yet been genuinely appreciated. This is the necessity of interdenominational coöperation. Such

coöperation is generally still thought of as a desirable thing. Church federations are nice to have, if they can be supported, but they are extra organizations. If city societies are in earnest about ministering to the needs of the city, coöperation and a coöperative organization are exactly as essential as annual income.

The reservations in coöperation are basically due to failure to understand the situation and to educate the constituency to such an understanding. When this failure is overcome the city societies will think of church federations as their own enterprises and will become their main strength and support. Then the coördination of Protestant forces will be under way and strategy and planning will be an established process.

PRINCIPLES OF INTEGRATION

The integration of the denominational forces in the cities has become sufficiently real to demonstrate the necessity of the unity of all forces directed toward a particular end. The principles involved in this process are already a part of the experiences of the societies. The problems of carrying these principles over into the other areas in which the societies are involved in their activity is again a matter of understanding.

Problems of Promotion

The immediate problems of promotion have to do with practice, but underlying these are basic problems of theory.

DENOMINATIONAL PROMOTION

Thirty out of thirty-three societies had trouble at the point of the present method of promotion. The denominational overhead organizations hold tenaciously to the prerogative of devising and carrying forward promotional programs. They are taking no chance at this point. These programs are sent down to the churches in most denominations through the state ecclesiastical organizations, which

call the city societies into more or less coöperation. The denominational promotion is weak in the cities for several reasons.

In the first place, city work is so well organized and programs are so thoroughly developed that the promotional plans do not get a proper place. In the second place, promotion is not built to fit the city and consequently does not challenge urban constituencies. In the third place, it does not take into consideration the local missionary program which has come to be the near-at-hand interest of the local people. In the fourth place, it conflicts with the promotion of the local work so that neither accomplishes satisfactory results. On the whole, it is weak because it comes down from the top rather than being built up from the bottom.

In one denomination, where the trackage is through the local ecclesiastical organizations, difficulties are considerably less, but they are still serious. In one society the executive called in those responsible for promotion and told them that thereafter all promotion must clear through his office, that when necessary matters would be put in the scrap basket there rather than in the local churches, and that he would see that appropriate promotion was carried out. This is in no sense a final solution to the problem.

The failure of the overhead denominational organization to realize this situation is as great a problem as its correction.

NEED FOR A NEW THEORY

As long as promotion is thought of as the ways and means to get money its full possibilities cannot be accomplished. It is far more than this. It is the process through which the objectives of the societies are realized.

To make the most of promotion a new theory and practice are necessary. Getting money is secondary to getting people. The knowledge of what the money will be used for, how it will be used and why, translated into enthusiastic loyalty on the part of the constituency establishes a stable

support. Comprehensive promotion, therefore, would seek to develop the interest of the constituency by means of a consistent program of educating people in the philosophy of organized denominational work and to integrate the direct service of people into the activities of the societies.

Summary

The catalogue of problems which the city societies face is overpowering to those who see problems first. But to those who fasten their attention on the unity of the church in the city it becomes a definite statement of things that must be done.

None of the problems are impossible to solve. In fact, most of them have been solved or are on the way to solution in some society. When the administrative groups of the societies understand what the problems are and how they are handicapping the greater usefulness of the societies the solution is not far off. There is no lack of intelligence in the leadership, but there is a lack in the time and effort spent on planning, taking account of stock, appraising projects, setting down objectives, and relating programs and methods to the objectives. The possibility of an organization getting somewhere is greater if its leaders know where it is going.

The seriousness of the problems which the city societies face cannot be discounted. Their failure consistently to attack their problems, no matter how good an alibi they may have, is an inherent weakness. This can very easily prove that weakest link which, breaking, severs the whole chain. Unless they are willing and able to solve these problems they have no right to expect anything but failure.

Chapter VIII

PHILOSOPHY

It is not quite fair to say that the denominational city societies have no philosophy. Much philosophizing has been done about them and their work. As a result, there are many philosophies, partial explanations, and interpretations about this or that point, but these bits of philosophy have not been put together in a comprehensive way.

This chapter undertakes to gather together these philosophies as they have been written or expressed by the executives, set down in printed matter of one sort or another, or implied in actions taken by administrative boards or in plans that have been set up. The many pieces have been sifted and sorted, classified and organized into a definite scheme, which is here set down as a more or less complete basis for a working philosophy.

SCOPE OF A PHILOSOPHY

The philosophy of an organization, just like a philosophy of life, is simply understanding what it is all about. There are several things that anyone needs to know about an organization so as to be able to comprehend and believe in it. If one would carefully think of the things that were necessary for him to know in order to understand an organization he would have the skeleton of a philosophy. There are primarily five parts in such an understanding and these are made the points of the scheme as it is worked out here.

The first thing to know is why such an organization exists. How did it come into being? Was it a result of certain objective circumstances and conditions? Or was it

entirely subjective urge in the direction of accomplishing definite purposes? Do the reasons for its existence justify its continuance? Is it an important affair? The answers to these questions point out why the city societies have such a large place in the churching of the city. For the purpose of designation this part of the philosophy is termed *raison d'être.*

The second and perhaps the most important thing to know in order to understand an organization is its objectives. The definite statement of objectives forms the base upon which organization is built and program planned. Objectives are of two kinds: the immediate and specific things which the organization undertakes to do in meeting the responsibilities which it has assumed, and the ultimate, more general objectives for the accomplishment of which the organization exists. These distant goals are likely to be rather nebulous until they are aligned with specific things that can be immediately undertaken, and the immediate goals become purposeful as they are planned in the direction of the ultimate goals. What, then, are the *objectives* of the city societies?

The third part of a philosophy deals with the organizational life. What type of organization is fitted to carry on a program in line with the objectives? What are the essentials of an efficient machinery? What are the various aspects of an organization which will be the *instrument* of accomplishing what the city societies have undertaken to do?

The fourth part of a philosophy deals with the spheres into which the work of the organization takes it. What are these spheres of activity? What other organizations are working in the same spheres? In what respects are relationships involved with these other organizations? How can the relationships be developed so that each sphere of activity is an integrated whole? The idea of *integrations* and the methods of bringing it about are important.

The fifth thing to know is how the objectives are to be

accomplished, the process of making reality out of ideals. This is promotion in the broadest and most comprehensive sense. It is far more than what is usually conceived of. It involves putting the instrument into effective operation in creating a body of experience toward the accomplishment of the goals. Such a process might be termed *realization.*

Around these five points the beginnings of a working philosophy for the city societies is developed.

Raison d'être

The brief historical survey points out that the denominational city societies came into existence primarily as the active expression of the interest of laymen in carrying on missionary work in the cities; as the years have passed the complicated conditions of city life which have compelled centralization in all phases of activity, have made these societies increasingly necessary. For these reasons, the societies continue to exist. These objective facts provide a compulsion which is very strong.

Each executive of the societies studied was requested to prepare a memorandum to contain an enumeration of the objectives of the society and a statement of his apologetic, that is, why he believed such a society to be essential. These memoranda formed the basis for this philosophy. Fundamentally these apologetics dealt with objective things which conditioned a situation that these societies existed to meet.

Background of experience

There is a unanimous conviction on the part of the executives that such organizations are essential. This conviction is based upon their knowledge of what churches have done in the city. Wherever an organized attempt to undertake effectively an adequate churching of the city has been made such societies have resulted. Consequently, it is evident that such organizations are the only way yet

found of meeting city needs. There may be another way or even a better way, but no one has yet discovered what it is.

One of the best published statements of the philosophy of city society work contains this paragraph.

"It should be recognized that a State organization with several hundred churches scattered over a wide area cannot plan and put over an *intensive program* covering every phase of Kingdom activity. On the other hand in these 'high-tension' centers, exercising as they do such masterful control over the nation's life, the City Society has been designed to plan and vigorously carry on an intensive program of religion within these areas of power and influence. Through the aggressive and well planned work of these Societies we are beginning to write a new chapter in American church history."[1]

The conviction as to the importance of the city societies is further explained by the considerations of the objective circumstances and conditions in cities and city churches, which provide the background for the societies and their work.

IMPORTANCE OF CITIES

During the last fifty years the United States has been changing to an urban nation at a tremendous pace. Now about half of the population lives within daily access to one of the ninety-three cities with a population of 100,000 or more. Three-quarters of the increase of population in the nation between 1920 and 1930 took place within larger cities and their immediate environs. The trend toward concentration of population in cities began with the intensification of industrialization, and continued even during the slackening of industry in the last decade, because of the economic and social advantages which the city provides. While cities appear to have ceased growing since 1930, they still dominate the scene of American life. No longer does

[1] Report of the Committee on City Missions to the Northern Baptist Convention, May 27, 1933, *Annual of the Northern Baptist Convention, 1933* (American Baptist Publication Society), p. 240.

rural life set the cultural pattern of the nation and the habits of its people.

Professor R. D. McKenzie closes his discussion of "The Rise of Metropolitan Communities" in *Recent Social Trends* with these words: "The past decade has definitely witnessed the emergence of a new population and functional entity—the metropolitan community or supercity. So far as can be seen this new entity will characterize our national urban life for an indefinite time to come. The next decade may be expected to bring about further efforts to digest it into the economic, governmental and cultural pattern of the nation."[2]

The quantity of people in cities is important in itself, but when we consider what elements make up the vast numbers, the importance is seen to be even greater. The cities have concentrated many varieties of people. Leadership in the realm of economics, industry, and commerce is in the cities. Those prominent in circles of culture and art are there. The socially elect are of the city. But the "comers," the hopeful ambitious youth, have been drawn to the cities to make their way. Along with these is concentration of people of foreign speech. In some cases an American city will contain more foreigners of a single nationality than some of the larger cities of their homeland. Negroes also form a considerable part of the cities, especially since the migrations from the rural south to the urban north during and following the War.

Not only do we find in our cities a concentration of all kinds of people, there is also every variety of human fortune, from wealth to poverty, from culture to illiteracy, from leadership to the oppressed, from builders to bums, from the good to the bad.

Frequently the foreign immigrants have come to America because they were ill-adjusted in their own countries, either on account of their ambitions, or because of their lack of desire and ability to take their places in a coöperative

[2] New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933.

society. All of the problems of living together are present. "The more subtle changes in our social life, which in their crude manifestations are termed 'social problems,' problems that alarm and bewilder us, as divorce, delinquency, and social unrest, are to be found in our largest American cities. The profound and 'subversive' forces which have wrought these changes are measured in the physical growth and expansion of cities.[3]

Another indication of the importance of cities is the large vicious element and political corruption. Those who would use political manipulation for their advantage, those who would exploit others to their own profit have found the most fertile field for their activities in cities. As a result cities are becoming points of infection whose influence spreads to the nation.

The forces of evil have recognized the importance of cities. If the church is to be the force for good for which it exists its importance cannot be discounted.

The opening statement of the Baptist report already quoted deals with the importance of cities from the standpoint of the churches.

"The nation is strongest in its cities while Protestantism is relatively weak. The cities are as never before influencing the course of national and world events. The city is paganizing the home and business life of America. The seeds of national and religious decay are being broadcast by powerful evil agencies at work within the cities. The city is producing a 'new type of civilization with an urban psychology, a standardized mechanical technique, and a pagan philosophy.'

"Over against all these destructive forces are the great constructive and character-building agencies at work building the Kingdom of God within the cities. And let it be said with distinctness that the American city offers the best chance for the development and growth of strong giving-serving churches of any field in the world. Here is an open door to the churches' most challenging and fruitful field of service for Christ and hu-

[3] Park and Burgess, *The City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925), p. 47.

manity. Here lies our greatest opportunity for winning the lost and for the practical application of the social principles of Christianity."

In order that the new pattern for the life of the nation, which is being wrought out in the cities, may be spiritualized and become a pattern of righteousness, city societies exist.

TASKS OF CITY CHURCHES

Such complex conditions and manifold factors of present urban life make the situation in the midst of which city churches carry on their ministry. The variety of the tasks that result is tremendous, more extensive and more difficult than churches are up against anywhere else. No one has as yet adequately defined these tasks. This is still the first job to be done. Out of a long history of experimentation much has been discovered, but this new knowledge needs to be put together against the background of the city as a whole. A comprehensive approach to the whole of these tasks is beyond reach of any single church or any one denomination.

Such an approach on the part of the city churches involves a ministry to all the varieties of people, in consideration of the differing fortunes and forces which bear upon their lives. Churches meet the necessity of finding out how to get hold of all sorts of people, and also what to do with them when they get hold of them. It is not enough for churches to say they will save souls. They must know what they need to be saved from and what they need to be saved for.

The intricacies of adapting the ministry of churches to the needs of those who make up the city are most difficult to comprehend. There are geographical, psychological, and social areas to be ministered to. Among many forces in the city the churches do their work. Which are allies and which foes? How may the devastating influence of wrong relationships in the economic, social, and political life be overcome and its effect mitigated?

Not only is there a comprehensive ministry to be built to meet the varied needs of city life, but there is also the responsibility of aligning the elements of strength and leadership of which the cities have the preponderance, to make churches which are able to carry on this ministry in the cities and in addition to stand behind the missionary service of the denominations beyond the borders of the cities.

Even such a brief intimation of what churches face in the cities is overwhelming. Who would think of suggesting that they undertake such tasks with any less than the best possible organized effort? This is why the city societies of the denominations exist.

STRATEGIC PLACE OF CITY SOCIETIES

City societies are in most strategic places where the centers of power and influence in American life are to be found, where the forces of evil and materialism are well organized and active, where the tasks of the churches are most difficult. But more than this, if the church cannot exert a dominant influence in American cities it can no longer hope to be a constructive force in the life of the country, because the forces that control the city will control the nation. The city societies are Protestantism's shock troops at the focal point of American culture. If the battle is lost here victory elsewhere is meaningless.

Furthermore, it is necessary that those with knowledge gained from close contact with and intensive experience in city problems shall be in a position to have an intelligent voice in the policies of denominations as they consider their total tasks. The tremendously significant part which cities play in the total church life of the nation cannot be disregarded in denominational plans and programs. Upon the work of the churches in the cities the most intelligent and most effective efforts of every denomination need to be focused, for if Protestantism cannot win in the American cities it is doomed to oblivion.

Neither denominations nor churches have any control

over the factors which have conspired to put the city societies "on the spot." But if they fail to recognize this it is prima facie evidence that they have no desire to deal with reality and they may, in fact, be sealing their own doom.

In the main, then, the *raison d'être* of the city societies is to be found in objective circumstances and conditions. They did not arise out of, nor does their importance depend upon ecclesiastical organization. They are the response of the people of the churches of denominational groups in the cities to the comprehensions of these objective forces and their invention as a means to do a constructive work in the modern cities. So the denominational city societies have become the most important part of the church in the United States today.

Objectives

An organization is known by its objectives. Its character and significance are indicated by what it sets out to accomplish. But objectives in turn affect the organization itself, giving it dignity and persistence or making it futile and temporary. The denominational city societies have expressed a few big and very general things as ultimate objectives, but because of the press of problems and responsibilities their most definite expression is in terms of immediate objectives.

Immediate Objectives

The following record of immediate objectives follows the points which are most definitely and most generally in the minds of the executives at the present time. So far as each particular society is concerned immediate objectives are peculiar to its own situation and interests.

PROGRAM

The program of the societies cannot be static in the midst of a kaleidoscopic city. The intention to meet the actual

needs necessitates an endless process of readjusting projects, of establishing new work, of discontinuing ineffective work, of changing programs and policies within projects. Keeping the projects alive and efficient is an objective of great importance.

The general program of the societies has perennial objectives of two types. Continually, new discoveries are made in the possibility of ministering to the needs of the city in ways in which no single church can go it alone but all together can. This is illustrated by the work of chaplains in institutions, by summer camps, and by the work of general social workers. The other type is in the service that is carried on to develop the institutional efficiency of the churches themselves. Objectives at this point consist largely in making the most of every opportunity to help individual churches and to arrange the service of experts in particular fields, as has already been done by some societies in religious education.

LOCAL DENOMINATIONAL UNITY

Denominational *esprit de corps* has already been developed in the societies to the place where it has been put by some of them to effective use in bringing the churches into a coördinated functional unity of efficient institutions. The corollary of this functional unity—the transferring of primary loyalty from the particular church to the total denominational work in the city—is, however, as yet unattained. The situation that is desired is one in which the people who worship in the suburbs will actually come to think of the pulpit at the center of the city as *their* voice and the neighborhood house in the slums as *their* direct service, while those who attend the little mission in the heart of the city will come to feel that the cathedral in the suburbs is *their* church. Already the Chicago Congregational Union has taken definite steps toward bringing about such an attitude.

EDUCATION OF CONSTITUENCY

The education of its constituency is a two-fold objective of the city society. First is the development of an interest in the society and its work. The quickening of the missionary spirit of the church is generally accepted as a sure result of keeping the local constituency well informed as to the needs of the city—what work is being undertaken, what should be done, and what could be done if the church people would give themselves to the task.

The second deals with the development of a better understanding of religion within the people themselves, and a deeper religious experience through their own self-expression in specific service. It also undertakes to create and nurture a general understanding of the meaning and practical consequences of the application of Christian principles to individual life, to the life of the church, and to the life of the community.

BUILDING THE ONCOMING GENERATION

All of the societies studied have undertaken activities whose objective is building the oncoming generation. The Episcopal City Mission Society in Boston has most specifically expressed this objective and has developed many activities directed toward this end.

Such programs and activities are especially developed for those who lack the privileges of helpful influence and creative self-expression. They are carried out in the form of boys' and girls' clubs, organized recreation in play, athletics, dramatics, the development of better religious education by training teachers, planning programs, and supervising organization and procedure, and in the more extended programs of summer camps and conferences.

KNOWING THE SITUATION

The city societies realize how handicapped they are by reason of the lack of information about churches and cities. Most of them are prevented by limitations of time and

equipment from accumulating such basic general information, but it is held definitely as an objective.

A program does not get very far before it reveals the necessity of knowing a great many things about the city, its life, and the forces at work in it. Scientific, comprehensive, and detailed knowledge is required to meet this necessity. This knowledge would include an inventory of the denomination and its work in the city, the geographical location of all churches, missions and institutions, and the analysis of their constituencies and of how they are being served. The same information about churches of all denominations in the city is necessary. The geography of the city, showing homogeneous sections and lines of population flow, and also the varieties of people and their locations, should be known. It is necessary to understand the social forces at work, their power, their objectives, and their relationships.

A definition of the responsibility of each denomination in a city can be built out of such analyses, for they will reveal the areas, from the standpoint both of geographical districts and of types of ministry, which the denominational societies should serve, the conditions of the service to be rendered, and the kind of service needed.

In making plans for effective programs in the particular projects, enough knowledge is necessary to make an intelligent appraisal of the conditions which must be met by the ministry performed, of geographical limitations, of social trends of neighborhoods, and of kinds and conditions of people and their needs. On the other hand, the forces with which the work is to be done must be appraised, and so must the plant and equipment, the paid leadership, the constituency, and the available funds.

Continuous study must be applied to the evolving methods and techniques for doing work effectively; the proper function of churches needs to be constantly redefined, and out of experience must be evolved more effective ways and means of operation.

In the field of service to churches the best and most suc-

cessful activities and methods of organization—for example in religious education, church finance, work with girls and boys—can with study be discovered, analyzed, and made available to all church leaders, both ministerial and lay.

It is little wonder that such extensive requirements for scientific study lead all of the city societies to the hope that the time will come when they can have departments of survey and research, either on their own account or in coöperation with other societies.

COMPREHENSIVE ADMINISTRATION

Another objective is a concomitant of those already mentioned. It has to do with the comprehensive administration of the whole denominational enterprise in the city. It goes beyond directing the extensive organization and work of the societies. It includes a continuous and helpful supervision of the projects which will not hamper the initiative of their leaders. It would deal with the adjustments of leadership so that each project and each church might have capable leaders who fitted the particular situations. Another most important factor is the distribution of aid so that the funds, which are never enough, will be spent where they can accomplish the most and in a way that will compel rather than repel coöperation.

Finally, administration would work toward the capacity to direct the growing denominational solidarity toward the most effective work in the city. Administration labors under the necessity of increasing its own efficiency, for, while programs and activities expand, seldom is administrative force enlarged.

FINANCING

The raising of money has of necessity been an objective from the beginning and will continue to be one. Different sources have been called upon: denominational home-mission boards, the local churches of the denomination, contributions from individuals in the constituency, and income

from invested funds. Special financial campaigns have been conducted from time to time for special needs, particularly for building and property. Withal, only a few societies have approached a reasonably adequate stable income. The immediate objective, consequently, is to find a plan which will provide a stable income with enough income-bearing invested funds to balance other sources and a surplus to carry over during times of diminished income.

The increasing difficulties in financing local churches, especially the payment of indebtedness incurred for building new church plants, add the objective of developing the financial plans and organizations in the local churches in order that they also may have a stable income.

RELATION OF CHURCHES AND PROJECTS

If the solidarity of the forces of a denomination in a city is to be attained a specific objective of closer relationships between churches and missionary projects is involved. If they are to grow together it will be in a mutual spirit of give and take in opportunities and understanding. Independent churches can find opportunity for definite expression of their ideals of service, and missionary projects can find opportunity of sharing advantages through inter-relationships, but such inter-relationships are not effective without planning and organization.

PARTICIPATION IN COÖPERATION

As soon as a denomination begins to define its responsibility in the city it discovers that this is modified by the work of other denominations. As soon as it begins to look toward adequate churching of the city it sees itself powerless except as the work of all the denominations is considered as a whole.

City societies find coöperation with other denominations desirable from the standpoint of the efficient prosecution of their own work. They also find themselves in a position to participate in coöperative councils when separate

churches could not do it. The stronger the determination of a city society really to accomplish results in its city, the more surely is it compelled to participate in interdenominational coöperation.

Coöperation begins with the denominations counseling together for the solution of their problems of conflict. In some places it is found desirable to undertake coöperative projects in which two or more denominations carry on certain work together. Eventually it looks toward a more constructive approach to the common problem of adequately churching the city.

Societies can be found at various stages in the development of coöperation. In general, however, the immediate objective on the part of the leaders is to bring the constituency to understand the wisdom of whole-hearted participation in the coöperative process.

Ultimate Objectives

Just where the line comes which separates immediate from ultimate objectives is not easy to determine. In the main, however, the ultimate objectives deal with general principles and ideal situations toward which the city societies try ever to move.

FUTURE STRATEGY OF PROTESTANTISM IN CITIES

The more sanguine would classify a planned Protestantism in the city as an immediate objective. For example, the director of city work of one denomination included this statement in a recent annual report:

"The cumulative studies of the Department of City Work are developing the pattern of the churches as over against this pattern of the city. The destinies of churches become fairly predictable. The basis of a sound strategy for the city is being laid. The necessity of coöperation among the churches is clear. Home Missions in the city is more than a subsidy to a new or struggling church. It aims to see the city whole. Its objective

is to furnish every quarter of the city something more nearly like equal and adequate religious privilege."[4]

However, such a strategy as has already been discussed lies almost entirely in the future. Moreover, it is more a principle of carrying on city work than a specific plan.

EQUALIZATION OF RELIGIOUS OPPORTUNITY

There appears again and again in the statements of the city society executives the idea of providing an equal opportunity for the ministry of the church to all people in the city. This objective belongs peculiarly to the city societies because nowhere else is it so definitely expressed, and, while it is far from being accomplished, they have done more about it than has any other part of the organized church. However, inasmuch as it deals with a basic attitude and its accomplishment seems so far in the future it is put down as an ultimate objective. Three things are implicit in this idea:

First, placing within reasonable reach of everyone a church, which will have an adequate building and equipment with well-trained leadership and a well-developed program without reference to the ability of the group being served to pay for it. It would match the variety of human need with the diversity of missionary operation and would provide for the interpretation of Christianity in such unusual ways as churches for various foreign-speaking groups and institutions for special types of service.

Second, a complete inventory of the needs of the city, a definition of what adequate churching is in every instance, a knowledge of what is being done by all concerned in its churching, and planned reciprocity between city societies of different denominations in which the people of the whole city are served according to their needs.

Third, the practical application of the principle that the strong shall bear the burden of the weak. This means

[4] Report of the Board of National Missions to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., May 1932.

gathering the extra reserves in money and leadership from the strong churches and using them for the development of those enterprises which in the very nature of the case are dependent because of the economic and social status of the groups served. This waits always not so much on the development of a missionary spirit as on a social consciousness and on the Christian concept of sharing together with a real sense of equality.

BROADER INTERDENOMINATIONAL ORGANIZATION

Inevitably the objectives of adequately churching the city, equalizing religious opportunity, and interdenominational coöperation lead to the realization that such work as city societies set out to do can best be accomplished when all denominations join together in a single organization. By no means all the societies or executives have yet come to this realization, but many have definitely expressed it. To quote one executive: "Is it too much to hope that eventually all such work in our great cities will be administered under boards made up of representatives of many denominations with the funds obtained from a united financial drive or Protestant Community Chest, supplemented by appropriations from the denominational treasuries."

OBJECTIVES OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

In the large the ultimate objectives of the city societies parallel those of the Christian church. Foremost are the concepts of building the Kingdom of God, realizing the rule of Christ in the affairs of the world, the abundant life for every individual, and so forth. This is opposed to the idea of Christianity as withdrawal from reality, separation from the world and ultimate escape from the present life and its misfortunes, as held in some quarters. Creating a faith for the present day built on a social consciousness with an ideal of the high destiny of mankind and expressing itself with creative conquering power, and the building of the life of

the coming generation with character, purpose, and unity are definite aspects of these larger objectives.

In the process of reaching toward these far-off objectives, however, the city societies have brought them down to earth and are actually trying to do something about them. For example, the building of their cities into cities of God as a part of the larger kingdom definitely enters into their planning. They are concerned with the development of righteousness in the city. They are building an influence which will be strong enough to be brought to bear upon city affairs. They work for and champion the cause of the underprivileged. They endeavor to provide help and opportunity for those who have been thrust aside by circumstances. They have not yet been able to strike at the roots of the present situation, but when a constructive way out appears they will be in a position to help it on.

Instrument

In order to work toward such an array of objectives a thoroughly efficient set-up is necessary. After all the city society is only an instrument with which to do a job, but the job is so important and so complicated that only a carefully constructed instrument can be expected to succeed.

Fitted to present-day needs

Above all the instrument must be fitted to present-day needs. As one executive has expressed it: "Shall we copy the past? By all means, no. When we ape our fathers we forget their greatness consisted in the fact that they aped no one. They derived their inspiration from contemporary sources, from the wants and heart hunger of the masses, from the social forces by which they were surrounded, and it was precisely because the instruments they used were adapted to the aim they had in view that they achieved miracles."[5]

[5] Sharpe, D. R., "Souvenir Program," Centennial of the Cleveland Baptist Association (Cleveland Baptist Association, May 1931).

INDIGENOUS ORGANIZATIONS

Each city society has its own particular situation which the instrument must fit. Details of organization can only be worked out on such a basis.

The first requirement of a practical organization is that it be locally administered. The mission and church-extension problems of a great city are so many and so varied that they cannot be properly understood or efficiently promoted and supervised by a group or board living in another section of the country, with their only source of knowledge coming from an occasional contact or written report. Local men of intelligence and understanding need to give their best and most thorough study to the problems of supervision and administration in their own territory.

A further essential is a unified administration of all the missionary work of a denomination by its society. A coordinated and comprehensive plan of work can be developed and carried out only when work under denominational boards of individual churches has been turned over to the societies.

When it comes to service to churches any distinction between dependent and self-supporting churches is entirely out of harmony with the societies' objectives. Whatever help is needed must be available to all churches alike.

ORGANIZATIONAL FACILITIES

There are a few basic necessities of an instrument which is to function with facility. The planning and administration of such an important work obviously cannot be done without well-qualified, full-time, adequately paid leadership. In non-episcopal denominations such leadership meets the additional need of general oversight.

Executive boards become most effective when they are truly representative of all places and groups of the constituency. When they are composed of outstanding, influential, and broad-minded people and meet regularly there

are great possibilities for constructive action in group judgment. The use of many additional lay people in the committee organizations can prove an asset in the development of understanding throughout the constituency in their own participation and their levening influence.

Offices centrally located and known as denominational headquarters are an advantage. Adequate equipment with which to do the required work and to serve churches is needed. An office staff proportionate to the extent of the work is necessary. A specialized staff is highly desirable when it can be provided.[6]

DENOMINATIONAL STANDARDS

The standards set up for city societies by Baptists and Presbyterians deal with size of city, size of denominational church-membership in the city, number of churches, and amount of annual budget. The basic idea is that societies have cities in which to operate that are of sufficient size to provide opportunity for variety of work and denominational strength enough to do it. That is, the city should have the usual range of urban situations demanding special attention, from the need for the reconstruction of the old churches in the deteriorated downtown to the need for new churches in residential developments, industrial and foreign-speaking populations to be ministered to, and special situations needing particular attention. Also that there should be enough churches of the denomination to have a constituency that can furnish resources in men and money. These standards, however, are outmoded. Important specifications are in terms of function rather than size. Vital standards will be developed out of the experience of the societies as they proceed to accomplish their own objectives.

[6] These and the other essentials for an efficient organization of a city society are treated at length in a paper prepared by Rev. W. Clyde Smith, D.D., now Executive Secretary of the Church Extension Board of San Francisco Presbytery, for the Conference of the Presbyterian Church Extension Executives held in connection with the meeting of the General Assembly in May 1926.

Integration

The great handicap to progress in almost every sphere is lack of coördination between forces directed toward the same end or correlative in their activities. If constructive forces are to contribute to an ongoing movement a unity must become real among those working with the same or related objectives in the areas of their functions. The process of bringing about such a unity is integration.

For example, the various agencies of government on different levels, community, state, and nation, are all parts of a single process. Such things as crime, racketeering, and the like are destructive forces obviously in absolute conflict to government. But the process of government, to be effective as a whole against such opposing forces, necessitates integration of the agencies, each within its own sphere and each in its relationship to the others, to form a unified whole. Such integration can only be attained when its desirability is recognized, relationships understood, and coordination specifically planned.

The objectives and activities of city societies involve them in many functional areas. In order that objectives may be accomplished and activities may become effective, the responsibility of seeing that integration is carried forward is automatically imposed upon the societies.

Areas of integration

Every city society functions in a primary area of its own, the denominational activity in its city. But this area is part of a larger area, the work of the whole denomination. This, in turn, is part of the area of Protestantism, which again belongs to the greater process of building the Kingdom of God. In addition, a society reaches out through its activities into many other distinct areas, such as the ministry of the church to the city, the reconstruction of civic life, constructive social work, and so forth.

Within each area, as well as in the relationships of one

area to another, integration is necessary. It is not a simple process, but when its importance and meaning are understood, it becomes chiefly a matter of making things fit together and removing all possibility of conflict.

What integration means can be more clearly seen by looking at the major areas in which city societies are concerned and briefly pointing out some things involved in integrating these areas into functioning wholes.

THE DENOMINATION IN THE CITY

Already need for the development of unity within the denominations in the city has been referred to. How can integration be developed in this area? It would begin doubtless in the will of the churches to work together and their consequent actual coöperation with a common purpose to carry forward missionary activity in an organized effort. The fellowship in such endeavor creates an atmosphere conducive to the development of a common program which each church begins to carry out simultaneously in its own parish. This further calls for synchronization of local ecclesiastical and missionary organizations of the denomination, a means of providing service to all churches, and a general program carried forward by all churches together. Then would come coördination of the work of all churches of the denomination in the city in accordance with a comprehensive plan in which each church would undertake its part of the whole so that it would complement the work of the other churches.

Integration of the denomination in the city would be accomplished with the fulfillment of this last stage. Such complete integration lies mostly in the future, chiefly because the underlying philosophy, as yet largely undeveloped in the minds of the denominational constituency, has not produced an appreciation of the need for such genuine coördination. In some places it has been partly accomplished, however, through the coördinated planning of the missionary projects. The Congregational Union in Chicago has made noteworthy strides in this direction. The reasons

given when the name was changed to "Union" provided a basic philosophy for just such integration, and the program for the last several years has been definitely pointed in this direction.

THE WHOLE DENOMINATION

The denomination in a city is part of a whole denomination. The denomination, of course, sees to it that this is not forgotten. However, that does not mean that the denomination locally is integrated with the whole denomination. Frequently, in fact, there is definite conflict which demonstrates the lack of integration. There cannot be integration so long as a denomination with its administrative center at a distance from the city continues to keep its fingers in the local pie. When the denomination in the city provides a responsible organization for local administration which has charge of all the missionary work in the city there is a basis for denominational trackage both ways and reciprocity in dealing with all phases of activity. A local denominational organization which stands on its own feet is a real asset to the denomination as a whole for it can be depended on to play in with the whole game. It will cooperate in the general program of the denomination, assume a reasonable share of the denominational benevolence budget, and see that the money is raised.

In this way the city society becomes the denomination working in the local area. It represents the denomination, and the denomination stands behind it, and both are stronger and the whole is realized. In the sphere of promotion the degree of integration shows up. If there is real unity promotion is carried on in a single coördinated program in the interests of the whole denominational program, local and general.

PROTESTANTISM

Protestantism is the conditioning temper of America. The United States has always been regarded as a Protestant country. But Protestantism is shot through and through

with evidences of dissension and conflict. The integration of Protestantism is an objective quite too far removed to be expressed even as an ultimate objective of city societies. However, the societies and their denominations are parts of this whole. Until Protestantism becomes a more obviously integrated whole its power as a social force in this country is in no way proportionate to its actual strength. Even though it seems that they can do little in this process city societies are in a position to make a significant contribution to American Protestant integration.

Dr. Lester W. Bumpus points out that there are a series of powerful forces, basically sociological, which are carrying American Protestantism in the direction of integration. But he indicates that the techniques for the process and the specific results of integration are to a large extent found on the local level.

"Many and significant forces are steadily accomplishing the change from isolated, narrowly conceived attitudes to more social and community-wide attitudes, and in all parts of the United States the present movement toward Protestant integration is the result of their operation to date.

"When one seeks to define the methods by which these ends can be consciously accomplished, they fall into three broad groups. First of all, mutual acquaintance can be increased through coöperation in joint activities; which may vary from union services to ambitious projects for community service. In the second place, a campaign of re-education can be carried on by the use of public speakers, both local and visiting, ecclesiastical and lay; by series of articles in local papers; by discussions and debates among local churches and other organizations. In the third place, quiet, but pervasive personal influences are indispensable."[7]

This puts it squarely up to the city societies as the functional denominational organizations in the urban areas.

In January, 1934, the Chicago Congregational Union held

[7] Bumpus, Lester W., *Five Factors Underlying American Protestant Integration,* unpublished dissertation for Ph.D. degree (University of Pittsburgh, 1931), p. 171.

a Laymen's Convocation in which one of the major topics of discussion was, "The Concentration and Unification of Protestantism in the Greater Chicago Area." A comprehensive discussion on this subject was prepared which included, along with more general topics, the consideration of specific places in the area where integration was needed and where surveys had been conducted to this end.

The church federations are definite expressions of the integration of Protestantism for whose success the city societies are very largely responsible.

CONSTRUCTIVE SOCIAL SERVICE

City societies enter the area of social work at many points. Many organized social agencies, and other organizations more incidentally, are at work in this field. Yet the needs of the city for social ministry cannot be fairly met without a unified approach. This need for unity has not been fully appreciated by those concerned. There is coöperation but little integration.

Occasionally city societies participate as agencies in community chests for certain projects. Usually they assist in campaigns by enlisting the coöperation of the churches. More often they are well represented on boards of directors of social agencies. But too frequently, when it comes to their neighborhood houses and other specific social work, such as chaplains in institutions or court workers or the social work of the individual church, no consideration is given to the relationship to the whole social work. Competition easily develops and misunderstanding with workers of social agencies frequently occurs. Inasmuch as city societies undertake social work, they should recognize its larger aspect and plan their work to supplement the activities in the whole social work program.

The conflict usually arises in what is thought to be a different point of view in social work. The city societies and their churches and institutions emphasize what they term "spiritual values", and the organized social agencies the

technical approach. "The rôle of religion as a vital factor in the social rehabilitation of failures and misfits has been increasingly recognized in recent years. This tendency has compelled the social agencies to face more promptly than before the position of the agencies of organized religion." It is further indicated that the critical attitude of social agencies in regard to the social work of religious agencies is at two points: (1) the failure of the latter to comprehend the numerous factors involved in case work and the need for coöperation of many agencies through technically exact processes operated by specially trained persons; (2) their deficiency in technical organization and training of workers.[8]

This, however, is a definite basis for the development of integration of social work in cities in which the societies are vitally concerned. Particularly in this area, where the approaches are so definitely complementary, will reciprocity and coördination in a definite unity strengthen the whole.

THE CITY

It is safe to say that no city society has failed to discover that its work is but a part of the ministry of the church to the whole city. No part of the ministry can be constructively done by itself or without a knowledge of the city, its whole need, and the other Christian forces at work.

This discovery has aided greatly in understanding the necessity of integration in this area. Denominations are actually working together. Comity procedure is fairly well defined. But the more positive approach through a common strategy and a city church plan has yet to be developed before integration is accomplished in the ministry of the churches to their cities.

An illustration of a very definite approach to such unity in the area of the city is to be found in a two-day conference held in March, 1934, in Chicago. A selected list of people, representing social organizations, various Protestant de-

[8] Johnson, F. Ernest, Editor, *The Social Work of the Churches* (New York, Federal Council of Churches, 1930), pp. 101-2.

nominations, and other religious groups were invited together to discuss a series of very pertinent questions under the general topic, "Major Issues Now Confronting Chicago Citizens."

PRINCIPLE OF INTEGRATION

The principle of integration is perfectly simple. As a purely mechanical process it might be illustrated by putting a jigsaw puzzle together out of a great many different but essential pieces to make a perfect whole in the picture revealed. It is more adequately illustrated by the organic unity of a body made up of many parts and different functions, all of which are essential to the proper and effective making of a living person.

This latter was the illustration used by the Apostle Paul when he introduced the ideas of integration into the early Christian church in his first letter to the Corinthians. The idea is not new, although the practice appears to be a rather recent discovery.

Integration is putting things together, but it is putting them together so that they make an organic functioning unity. It is understanding the relationships that are involved in the many phases of activity, and making them reciprocal, complementary, and enthusiastic.

Already the city societies have learned much about integration in their experience in unifying their respective denominational forces in their cities and also in working toward the development of an adequate churching of the city through coöperative activity. The capitalization of this experience will lead to the better development of integration all along the line. Extending their philosophy to the other areas in which they work will set them up greatly in usefulness and power.

REALIZATION

No philosophy is vital until it becomes real, that is until it is expressed through function in accomplishment. It is

not enough to state objectives. Although they may be grand and glorious objectives, they are as lifeless as the paper on which they are written until something is done about them. The process of doing something about it is here given the term realization. It carries the connotation of accomplishment, at least to a definite degree, but not necessarily to complete accomplishment.

Take a simple illustration. The city societies all have as an objective the starting of new churches in the newer residential areas. How would they go about it? First they would discover a new area that had developed a population large enough to produce some degree of community consciousness. It is assumed that there is no church in the neighborhood or immediately accessible to it. Other things about the community have to be known. What kind of people are living there? If the population is largely Roman Catholic or Jewish there would be no need for a Protestant church. If they are foreign-speaking people of Protestant background it will need to be a very different sort of project from just a new church. What are the prospects for growth in the community? When it is fully developed will the part of the population likely to attend and support a neighborhood Protestant church be sufficient to make a first-class, going enterprise? How much will the people be able to pay in the course of time toward supporting their own church? What will it cost to undertake and develop such a work? Is money enough available? What denomination would best fit the people, and provide a complementary ministry to churches already working in that general section of the city? What denomination is able to pay the cost? The next step would be to find the right type of man for that particular place, to provide property, to arrange for a building, and to secure equipment enough with which to work. A program fitted to the situation must then be developed and work can be started. After a year or two of constant helpful supervision, when a significant group of people are actively participating in the enterprise and doing

their share to meet the cost with the balance of the required funds furnished by the society, a church can be organized. Even though the job is by no means finished, the city society can then say that it has realized the objective of starting a new church.

This apparently simple objective is not quite as simple as it appeared. Moreover, in the process of accomplishment, the realization of several other objectives is involved. The denomination is strengthened and unified by participating in a definite task, a situation is carefully studied and understood, a plan of financing is carried forward, interdenominational coöperation is participated in, and one point in a constructive city church plan is developed. Very much more than was originally envisioned is actually realized in such a procedure.

UNDERSTANDING WHAT IS BEING DONE

There is another side to this picture. Simply doing things is not realization. The realization comes in knowing what is being done and why it is being done, in understanding the many implications and taking their relationships into account. A city society which proceeds in opportunistic fashion, simply doing the things it finds to be done, cannot be at its best. A background of philosophy and planning is essential. Otherwise the things that are done may fit into a constructive forward-going process or they may be pushed into blind alleys. When the societies do not have the understanding of where they are going and how they are realizing their objectives, it is not likely that they will have a loyal, enthusiastic, participating constituency.

Clear thinking and complete understanding are not adequately built into the procedures of the societies. City societies are doing many things, some of them, at least, splendid expressions of the great objectives of the Christian church, but only in very rare cases was it possible to find individuals who could tell what they were doing in terms

of objectives and explain the significance of procedures and activities.

EXTENDING THE SPIRIT OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

The process of realization goes deeper than doing something about an objective and understanding it. Dr. Ernest Graham Guthrie defines realization in this way, "Bringing out into distinctness the faith, the love, and the power of the Christian church so that its meaning and direction for life may be clearly and strongly felt."[9] He goes on further to explain, "In a given unit of the church there is a great deal of concern for the betterment of human life, and so far as it exists, it expresses itself in immediate relationships and sporadic opportunities, but if it is to be made available for complex situations like municipal corruption, or relationships to life in another part of the city, a nation or the world, the channels of its expression, the means by which it can become effective in these complexities and relationships, must be indicated and made available, e.g., Our Fellowship Plan has made it possible for a young life in the suburbs, who feels keenly the conditions of life for the underprivileged, to articulate [realize] his faith and service in this direction."

The Fellowship Plan, which has been remarkably effective, illustrates the extension of the spirit of the Christian Church in a very real way. This spirit made manifest in every direction is the realization of the deepest purposes of the city societies.

MEETING CHANGING NEEDS

One further aspect of realization should be indicated. The city society should keep its fingers on the pulse of the city so that it perceives its constantly changing conditions. Dr. Bumpus writes: "The immediate needs are determined by the exigencies of our changing scenes. During the vast

[9] Dr. Guthrie, General Director of the Chicago Congregational Union, uses the term "articulation" to denote the same idea that is here given the term realization.

influx of foreigners the city societies grappled with Christian Americanization. The churching of suburbs and of rapidly developing industrial areas then claimed attention. Today particularly the emphasis is shifting to an approach to apply Christian principles to more familiar and more difficult realms of American urban civilization—its economic, industrial, and political life. . . . City societies exist to bring to bear upon all phases of urban American life these Christian principles in which alone reside the possibility of a permanently substantial and sociologically sound civilization."[10]

Conditions in the city usually change so gradually that it is often difficult to appreciate what is going on, but in the long run the changes are very great. A city society that is always in touch with the life of the city is able to see such change while it is taking place and to accommodate its activities to it by a process of gradual adaptation. This removes the necessity of radical departures which are always difficult.

EXPERIENCE

In making the specifications for standard societies the Presbyterians mention one factor which fits into the consideration at this point. Before a society can be recognized it must have an experience of three years to prove its worth and "demonstrate efficiency in the various types of home-mission work." The factor of experience is exceedingly important.

As the process of realization progresses, the field of experience is continually enlarged. This experience, in turn, modifies the process. An almost endless number of things that could be done are presented to the city societies. Obviously not all of them can be done, nor are they equally appropriate. Immediately there is the necessity of selection. While selection begins very largely on an oppor-

[10] Memorandum on the objectives of the Pittsburgh Baptist Association, by Rev. Lester W. Bumpus, Ph.D., Executive Secretary.

tunistic basis, it tends to become more purposeful. But each selection, with its consequent experience, adds new wisdom to guide further choices and to crystalize objectives. Experience brings understandings of how the project fits the objective, what its implications are, whether or not such a thing can be effectively done and what methods are most successful in bringing about the realization.

In this way experience has resulted in the adoption of many different policies on the part of societies. For example, the Baptist society in Chicago has a policy of concentrating aid on the more important projects that their work may become more effective. The Pittsburgh Presbyterian organization has a policy of doing work among foreign-speaking people in connection with the program and buildings of established churches. Presbyterians and Congregationalists in Chicago have a policy of coöperation in the conduct of neighborhood houses. The Protestant Episcopal society in Detroit has a policy of assisting all parishes and missions in developing efficient financial organizations and methods. Many others might be noted.

Experience modifies the objectives themselves. Certain objectives will be accomplished and will be replaced with others. Some will be definitely modified by experience. But what is more likely, experience will open up new possibilities and discover new needs which will add enlarged objectives to the philosophy. There will be no difficulty in keeping objectives ahead of program when a philosophical approach is made to a society's work, and experience is understood and interpreted. Only one society has permanently retained its original objective. This is the oldest of them all, the City Missionary Society of the Congregationalists in Boston. For a hundred and seventeen years it has carried on its program for a purpose which is the same, "the moral and religious instruction of the poor." But even here methods and activities have greatly changed, and the meaning of the purpose has been greatly broadened.

Ability to keep up with this continuous need for read-

justment to a changing and enlarging philosophy is in itself the best evidence of an inherent vitality. The history of the city societies in this respect is a strong pragmatic apologetic. Any institution inherently has a traditional set which makes for difficulty of adaptation. This has hampered a few societies in certain respects, but most of them have shown a surprising lack of limitation on this account.

REALIZATION, A PROBLEM OF THE INDIVIDUAL SOCIETY

Realization in the last analysis is a problem that each society must face for itself. It depends upon the objectives that have been particularly emphasized, the resources that are at hand and the aptness of the leadership for certain types of work. What is realized and how the realization is brought about are not so important as understanding what is being done, what it means, and what is accomplished in the broader sense. This understanding in the minds of the constituency is a sure foundation for an effective society.

THE PLACE OF PROMOTION

The comprehensive process of realization is promotion. Only with a concept that takes in the whole meaning of realization can promotion be developed in any adequate manner. There are two aspects of promotion.

The first aspect is objective. It deals with the things to be realized and the methods of this realization. It involves carefully thought out objectives and thoroughly planned procedure for accomplishing the objectives. It is concerned with everything that has to do with carrying out the procedure. In this sense promotion is making things go.

The second aspect is subjective. It deals with the democratic process in which objectives are determined and procedures for their accomplishment are planned. It involves the building of a philosophy out of the thought of the constituency and educating the constituency in the philosophy. It undertakes to integrate directly the personal participation of the constituency in the functioning processes of the

societies. In this sense promotion is the development of understanding and the growing of a constituency that will make things go.

Realization, the accomplishment of the aims and objectives of city societies, rests upon a definitely planned education. What will it profit a city society, though it do many good works, to provide meeting houses and preachers, gymnasiums and music teachers, if it does not make better men and women, and boys and girls. To this end the educational motive in all programs and activities reaches out.

The societies exist to minister to the underprivileged people. In terms of this group such an education means helping people to remove their environmental limitations, to engender within themselves aspirations and ambitions toward creative activity, to understand the true meaning of freedom, and to provide the opportunity and atmosphere in which they can know their powers and capacities, understand their limitations, seek a way of life which uses their total personalities and aim to alter their conduct in relation to a changing environment in which they may become conscious active agents.

In terms of the constituency which make up the societies it means the same things through their self-expression in active participation in thinking through the philosophy and the plans for the work of the societies and in serving in various capacities in carrying forward the projects and programs.

Conclusion

The makings of a philosophy are already found in the city societies especially in the thought of their executives, else this analysis could not have been made out of the things that have been said and written by these leaders. To be sure, the sources of the parts were scattered far, but now that these parts have been assembled some idea of what a comprehensive philosophy of a city society would be like has been made possible.

In so many places making a philosophy was thought of as almost an impossible thing. Only the unknown provides difficulties which cannot be overcome. While this analysis makes no pretense of being complete, for a philosophy never can be finished, it does provide a basis for the development on the part of each society of a reasonably comprehensive philosophy of its own.

All of the major points considered appear to be essential in building a philosophy for the denominational city society; the understanding of why such a society has come into existence, the objectives both immediate and ultimate to which it has set itself, the perfecting of an organization into a practical and efficient instrument, the integration of all the areas in which the society is concerned on account of its activities and relationships, and finally the realization of the objectives in definite and purposeful activity together with the constant process of refining objectives and programs, in the light of experience.

Only as each society develops and applies a philosophy in its own life will these important agencies of the church avoid a great futility caused by cross purposes, conflict, and the dissipation of their inherent power, for understanding is the basis on which progress and growth can be built.

It should be borne in mind that such a philosophy as is presented in this chapter does not exist in any society. While the stuff out of which it was made was the sporadic philosophizings of many leaders, yet such philosophizings are a long way removed from a comprehensive, definitely expressed working philosophy. This the societies do not have. Until each society develops and expresses its own philosophy, its visions will be only mirages.

Chapter IX

LOOKING AHEAD

In this closing chapter the author attempts to look into the future and express what in his opinion is likely to happen to the city societies in the next few years, if they take their responsibilities with increasing seriousness and maintain a progressive and aggressive approach to their work. These opinions are given under three headings: tendencies, dangers, and possibilities.

Tendencies

The history and development of the city societies indicate certain definite tendencies. These tendencies appear to be so inherently definite that they might well be considered inevitable. This means that in all probability certain things will come about whether the societies will or no. They may be greatly delayed, however, if the societies continue to fight against them.

The history of the city societies, however, shows that their development has constantly been in the direction of progress. Pretty generally they have been ahead of the procession in the actual extension of the usefulness of the churches. Inasmuch as this has been the case it is logical to assume that the tendencies are predominantly in the direction of further progress. This is certainly true in so far as specific tendencies can be seen. The intention, therefore, in noting these major tendencies is to help the societies to step up the rate of progress by their own effort rather than waiting for progress to be thrust upon them.

SOLVING PROBLEMS

Solving problems on the level of their every-day work has been a continuous experience of city societies, so that they have developed considerable capacity in this direction. While the everyday problems have had to do with practical situations in their work, more general problems should not be beyond their reach. Their absorption in daily difficulties, which has preëmpted the time that should have been given to philosophizing, can no longer be an excuse, for the more general problems have now come under the pressure of immediate necessity and must be squarely faced and solved.

In the main the larger problems which the city societies now face have a character which makes them particularly important. They are concerned with underlying policies and philosophy behind a long series of particular problems. On this account the solution of these problems will unquestionably make a very real difference to the societies in stability and outlook, and will certainly lay new foundations for their work. It will clarify the objectives, perfect the organizations, stabilize the support, establish relationships, and set up a new scheme of functioning. In other words, the next stage in the development of the city societies will greatly increase their effectiveness as agencies of the church for the ministry to the cities.

CHURCHING THE CITY

The concept of churching the city as the background against which the city societies do their work is just in its beginnings. From the early days of the societies their sphere of activity has constantly broadened. Now that they have come to think definitely in terms of the needs of the city, there awaits most of them a large discovery in the variety and extent of these needs and in the possibilities of meeting them. If they think increasingly in terms of their cities rather than of their denominations, they are bound to attack the problems of strategy and planning for an adequate

churching of the city. This ultimately will involve a necessary and radical departure in organization.

INTERDENOMINATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Already the more progressive and understanding of the executives see that the cities cannot best be served by societies organized on a denominational basis. Sooner or later the question of an interdenominational organization will have to be faced. Just what form this new organizational approach will take cannot be surely forseen. In all probability it will be on the federated principle in which, to a certain extent, denominational integrity is maintained, certainly sufficiently to carry the responsibility for the general missionary program of the denominations. It may be possible that the organizations of coöperative Protestantism, church federations and councils of churches, can be remodelled to fit the necessity. Whatever form is worked out on a pragmatic basis will bring many unquestionable advantages.

It will enable all denominations, whether they now have societies, or are too small to have them, or even have only a single church, to function directly in the organized approach to churching the city. Inhibitions and restrictions and circumventions in the approach to the whole problem of churching the city adequately will be largely removed by such an approach. The development of strategy and planning will be without hindrance. The causes of competition will largely disappear, as loyalty to denominations is transmuted into zeal for a proper churching of the city. The policy of resources, of interests, and of responsibilities will make a basis for fair adjustments and the development of service projects on their merits.

It will be possible to develop a specialized staff without duplication and representing different phases of work. With such a staff, a more technically sound and well-rounded program of general activities will result. The whole program will have a new basis of activities and can be founded on

the broader aspects of the functions of religion in society and in the lives of individuals.

The problems of relationships will be greatly simplified. A proper basis will be established for coördination with the constructive agencies of the city in the fields of both social and civic activities, especially those concerned with social service, education, and recreation.

The financial structure of such organizations would have every possible advantage that the city affords. The challenge of such a comprehensive approach to churching the city would appeal to the intelligence and coöperation of those best able to support it. Already in one city a man of wealth spoke of his interest in such an organization in terms of money in figures of seven digits. Large endowments are more likely to be possible on such a basis. The creation of reserve funds to carry over times of diminished income and for special needs would be possible.

The growth into such organizations will come naturally and gradually in the prosecution of the ministry to the needs of the city. To quote one of the executives:

"I believe we are rapidly approaching the time when the more important denominations will join hands in their ministry to the areas of deterioration in our large cities. That is to say, where the church is doing what it has been pleased to call *mission work* or, better, where it has no hope of building self-sustaining churches, but feels under obligations to render a ministry in the name of religion through neighborhood houses, community centers, institutional churches, etc., common sense and economic necessity reinforcing the growing spirit of religious tolerance and brotherhood will lead all the churches to a policy of coöperation. Beginnings of such a policy are to be seen here and there."

In the last analysis this is the only logical and reasonable way to carry on the work of the Protestant churches in cities. To quote the same executive further:

"I have no desire to perpetuate the denominational City Society beyond a certain point. It seems to me that Councils of

Social Agencies are standing rebukes to Christian churches. Here we find gathered together outstanding leaders in every phase of social work, specialists in their line, individuals with differing temperaments and not entirely agreed as to emphasis on methods, yet all working together for a better understanding of the underlying philosophy of their work, for constantly improved ideals and standards and for a better technique all along the line. If the Christian churches professing to be superior to these secular agencies, because they are religious and the others are secular, adopting a kind of 'holier than thou' attitude and then eyeing each other with suspicion and seeking to obtain an advantage over the other fellow by means that are not always justifiable, would show the same spirit that the social agencies are exemplifying and through a great *Council of Religious Agencies* attack their problem with aggressiveness and zeal, great things would happen. We are heading straight toward that but we need prophets."[1]

Dangers

Two serious dangers lie in the path of city societies. They can be avoided, but only if they are recognized and continually guarded against. If they are not escaped they will prove tremendous handicaps, as they already have become in a few cases.

Vested Interests

The usual history of any institution brings it to a place where in its very existence is a vested interest. When it has property or capital funds the sense of vested interest is increased.

The city societies, even those with long histories, have largely escaped this psychology. In the societies studied nowhere was the attitude found which considers the right of the societies to continued existence because of their history, prestige, or property. They are looked upon as agencies of service which exist because of the importance of the work

[1] Memorandum prepared by Rev. C. S. Laidman, D.D., Associate Director of the Chicago Congregational Union.

that they are in a position to do and because of the valuable and important service which they can render.

So long as the societies can continue in this attitude, and never become obsessed with the power that they develop or the property and funds which they possess, these things can be used effectively as trusts to help them extend their ministry. If they should come to the conservatism which protection of vested interests demands the very spirit that makes them useful will be dead.

THE TRAMMELS OF DENOMINATIONALISM

One point of strength in the city societies has been the fact that they have been independent of the ecclesiastical system. Now that the trend of recent years has brought them into the midst of ecclesiastical organization they are faced with serious difficulties and limitations unless they can escape the trammels of denominationalism.

The emphasis of the denominational organizations has come to be upon their own maintenance. Their great vested interests in power, prestige, jobs, and money have come to be carefully guarded and zealously perpetuated. They have to a large extent lost sight of the fact that there is no reason *per se* why any denominations should exist. Their only legitimate claim on life is to be found in the need for the service which they can render.

It is against this background that the control, which the denominational overhead organizations exercise over the societies, is looked upon with apprehension. So far city societies have been remarkably free from the undesirable aspects of denominationalism. Even as they have developed a local unity of their denominations, it has been from the standpoint of making a united force with which to do their work. Unless this sort of freedom to serve is continued without the limitations of control from overhead denominational organizations, they will be likely to find their usefulness as indigenous urban agencies of service smothered by ecclesiasticism.

Possibilities

The statement made earlier in this report to the effect that city societies are the most important and most vital part of the organized church in the United States is largely based upon the extraordinary possibilities for their increased usefulness.

LEADERSHIP IN PLANNING

In this country at the present time reference on every side is heard to social planning, industrial planning, economic planning. The conviction is spreading that any successful way out of present difficulties will be built upon a comprehensive plan, and that every phase of organizational and institutional life must also have its plan.

City societies stand on the threshold of a planned procedure. In this respect they are in the van of present trends. This advantage has two aspects: first is the possibility of getting their own houses in order readily and quickly; second is the possibility of being in a position to make a constructive contribution to the development of planning in the many areas of urban life. Thus they may lead the churches to a new place of leadership in the life of the country, a place which they have failed to have these many years.

OVERCOMING THE WEAKNESSES OF THE CHURCHES

There are two profound weaknesses in the churches of this day. In the first place, both leaders and constituency have lost, if they ever had it, the understanding of what the church is for. In the second place, the churches have failed to integrate their members into the life and service for which they stand in a way that will give people opportunity for real expression of their faith and ideals.

The churches are not entirely responsible for their weaknesses. No single church can build a comprehensive philosophy out of its limited experience, neither can its program be broad enough to provide sufficient avenues of self-expres-

sion for its members. The city societies, however, are in a position to overcome both of these weaknesses.

As the societies build their own philosophies, especially if this is done by a democratic process in which the representatives of the churches participate, they will be building a philosophy for the churches. But more than that, they will be getting under way a process which will take their philosophy into the minds of the constituency which will give effect to it.

The work of the societies takes in a cross-section of the life of the cities. Some churches have brought together an abundance of people with ability, intelligence, and devotion. There are far more people to do things than there are things to be done. On the other hand, there are churches and institutions made up of people whose opportunities have been limited and who have not developed the capacity of leadership. The societies provide the possibility of bringing together the superfluity of capable leaders and workers and the abundance of need.

If the societies did nothing more than make the most of their possibilities for overcoming these two great weaknesses of the churches their work would be worth while. But in the very doing of this their whole sphere of usefulness and ministry in the city will be extended and become increasingly effective.

CREATING A GENUINE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS

Since the emergence of the concept of adult education both the possibilities and the scope of an educational process have become greatly broadened. Against this concept the need for a background of education on the part of the societies, to which the report has repeatedly referred, has a fuller meaning.

A Basis of Adult Education: There are several fundamentals of adult education. Basically education is considered to be life itself, not a preparation for some future life. With the whole of life as learning, education does not

end. Education revolves about non-vocational ideals. It is not to help one to learn how to do his job, but rather to find out the meaning of his job in relation to the meaning of the whole of life. The approach to education is by way of the situations of life which constantly call for adjustment. As a result the development and use of intelligence is in connection with reality. The resource of largest value in adult education is the learner's experience. The results of experience, not the precepts of textbooks, are the basis of intelligence.[2]

Helping People to Understand Life: The fundamental idea of adult education is a search for the abundant life. Comparatively little, however, has been done by churches to provide opportunities for making such a search in the midst of real life. People have been left to their own devices to discover ways in which they can reach outside of themselves to express their Christian principles in actual service. In spite of this weakness there are still to be found in the churches great numbers of those who have aspirations and ambitions which belong to the higher levels of human achievement, and who search for intelligence, power, self-expression, freedom, creativity, appreciation, enjoyment, fellowship. These wait for the opportunities which the work of the societies can provide to fulfill their own lives. Others, who never have been aroused by theory to such aspirations and ambitions, can find them in the practical ways which the city societies offer.

Together with people of this sort the city societies make their way. They are not teachers nor propagandists. They are learners along with the rest. Out of this coöperative process, which the societies can provide, will come philosophy, plan, and program.

The societies will be able to help the learners understand and interpret life situations in terms of their own experience. The range of the societies' work encompasses the whole scope

[2] Lindeman, Eduard C., *The Meaning of Adult Education* (New York: The New Republic, 1926), p. 6.

of urban life. The situations in which they are involved, and the projects which they have to handle, provide a wide variety in which to give experience full play. In the study of these situations in the light of experience, the objectives and activities of the societies are interpreted not in words but in real life.

Material for the Societies' Work: A group of searchers is the best kind of real life material out of which the societies can build their organizations and their work. The searchers want to count for something. They want their experience to be vivid and meaningful. They want their talent to be realized. They want to know beauty and joy. They want their total personalities to be shared in communities of fellowship. The societies can use such people and fulfill their wants by directing their self-expression into the program of the societies for meeting the needs of the city.

Into this sort of a social consciousness the recluse, the protected individual, the self-centered person will never fit. Experience must take into its scope the broader aspects of life in the city. All spheres of life in the city are related. In understanding this fact, in sympathy with all the varieties of people who make up the city, and in appreciation of an interdependence in which all rise or fall together, is born the incentive to make a better city.

Such education would make Christianity a matter of living rather than of the acceptance of precepts and doctrines by giving the members of the Christian community opportunity for expressing their principles in experience, thus making them real. It converts Christian principles into vital actions.

This kind of approach would build the societies out of the resources of their constituencies, by providing resources of personality of which there is universal need. The administrative problems may be greatly increased but the results are bound to vitalize the whole program. Money appears in a new light. It is not sought in order to perpetuate an institution or a program, but rather the giving of money

becomes the direct participation of the givers in the work which they have come to understand, believe in, and want to do.

So the societies would come to lose themselves increasingly in their work. They would no longer be personalized as an end, but simply as an instrument to accomplish an end. The objectives coöperatively set up would be the focus of attention and interest. All effort would be spent on the realization of these objectives. In the process, because of its breadth of vision and understanding, integration would become largely automatic.

Education by the Societies and by the Churches: Those who strive to make the promotional work of city societies an educational process realize that the churches have not done the necessary educating. The education of the churches has been to a very large extent abstract. While they have reached into the work of the societies for illustrative material, it has been the objective consideration of something entirely outside their own experience. The weakness of the education of the churches has been their inability or their lack of opportunity to vitalize themselves by realization in experience. In an educational plan city societies would aim to correct this difficulty.

One serious problem arises. Parallel educational processes cannot be carried out by societies and their churches. It is not practically possible or desirable because it would defeat its own purpose. These two approaches are in no sense different. They are entirely complementary and must be integrated. The city societies can only succeed in their own efforts when they are able to remake the educational program of the churches and lead them to the point of view which they represent.

A great asset for orienting city work on an educational basis is to be found in directors of religious education which a few societies have provided. They are the common denominators through which the problems can be solved.

These directors assist in perfecting religious education programs in independent churches as well as in churches and institutions assisted by the societies. They are in a position to bring the two together, and to this end the project method is of great assistance. Thus they can put the educational principles involved into their programs and can also direct the personal service of individuals into useful channels and so help carry the integrating educational plan through to fulfillment.

Certain direct and supplementary programs would be conducted by societies, primarily to keep the objectives continuously before the constituency and to report progress toward the realization of these objectives. This would fill a specific place in the whole educational program by constantly revivifying the background of understanding.

Recognition of Responsibility for Adult Education: At least one of the city societies recognizes itself as an agency of adult education. The Chicago Congregational Union is a member of the Adult Education Council of Chicago. Recently the Union conducted several radio broadcasts under the auspices of the Council interpreting its work as adult education. On one of these occasions the Director of Religious Education spoke on the extent and variety of the activities of the Union as adult education. On another the Executive spoke on the integration of the specific process of adult education in effecting the welfare of the city and bringing about the powerful action of Christian citizenship.

By Way of Illustration: No matter what may be thought of the Russian experiment or of its purpose, some lessons can be learned from the methods used. Even though Russia undertook to carry out its comprehensive plan on the basis of an authoritarian state, the leaders of the Soviet government realized that their ends could not be accomplished by compulsion. If the new state was to be successfully built they knew that it could only be when the people were educated to understand what it was all about and how it

would work, and when they would be individually committed to it and integrated into its total life.

The "Five Year Plan" included a cultural program, as well as an economic and a social program, and this embraced all of the educational and cultural agencies of the country. It provided for liquidation of illiteracy, introduction of universal compulsory education, broadening the program of vocational and higher education, promotion of adult education, and the integration of every avenue of educating the people. The enthusiastic support of the great masses of the people was clearly recognized by the government from the day the plan was first contemplated, as the first requirement of the task.[3]

The large measure of success that Russia attained in the accomplishment of the first "Five Year Plan" can be attributed to the educational undergirding that was planned and carried out. If this was essential in a government which had absolute power, how much more is a thorough educational approach necessary to accomplish objectives by agencies such as city societies, which are organized on so different a basis.

In the awe-inspiring cities where people are filled with splendid expectations and terrifying fears, where they find great exhilaration and overwhelming tiredness, where they are spurred on by glorious hopes and cast down by devastating disappointments, where there is superhuman courage and utter despair, in the midst of the bewildering paradoxes of life, city societies seek to unify life, to serve needy people, to build a better city. To do these things it takes organization and a consistently prosecuted plan to hold a constituency to the purposes of and participation in such activity. For in spite of the vastness of the cities people live in little worlds circumscribed by the narrow limits of their own experience and their direct contacts. "It has been demonstrated that we cannot rely upon intuition, conscience, or

[3] Counts, George S., *The Soviet Challenge to America* (New York: John Day Co., 1931).

the accidents of casual opinions if we are to deal with the world beyond our reach."[4] The societies must expand the worlds in which the people of their constituencies live. They must give direction to their people in order to integrate them into a direct experience in the larger world which the societies serve.

The Ends of Such Education: Such a process of education as the promotion of city societies and their work is the very keystone of all their efforts. Their ultimate success depends upon it. The importance of such education is as a means to definite ends. The ends are bringing people into the actual experience of the abundant life. Such an educational process would embrace the lives of many people whose experience it can genuinely enrich and recreate into usefulness and power.

Why do city societies have all their programs, organizations and paid staff? For just one thing; that the people of the city may live better and be better people; that they may be happy and healthy, with worth-while tasks to challenge their capacities, with their appreciations awakened and their experiences enriched to take in more completely the higher spiritual values of life.

In *Home Missions Today and Tomorrow* the spirit and goal of home missions is spoken of as an enterprise that has made the church and the ministries of the Christian religion available to all kinds of people under all sorts of conditions. Its range of interests has comprehended almost every field of vital public concern. It has been the effort of the church to give spiritual reality to that American ideal described as a "dream of a land in which life shall be better and richer and fuller for every man a dream of a social order in which each man and each woman shall be able to attain to the fullest stature of which they are innately capable."[5]

[4] Lippmann, Walter, *Public Opinion* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927).

[5] Adams, James Truslow, *The Epic of America* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company), p. 404.

These are challenging and glorious ends, worthy of the best that can be done. There are many who would call the undertaking to accomplish these ends, building the Kingdom of God.

Such possibilities the city societies have by no means attained. This is rather what they ought to be, and what, in the faith of the writer, they may become.

Appendix

TABLE I.—CITY SOCIETIES STUDIED—HEADQUARTERS AND CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICERS

Name of Society	Address of Headquarters	Name of Executive	Title of Executive
	BOSTON		
Boston Baptist Bethel City Mission Society	309 Ford Building	Rev. Archibald A. Forshee	Executive Secretary
City Missionary Society (Cong.)	602 Congregational House, 14 Beacon Street	Rev. Ralph H. Rouse	Superintendent
Boston Missionary and Church Extension Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church	Wesleyan Building 581 Boylston Street	Rev. A. F. Reimer	Superintendent
Episcopal City Mission and Archdeaconry of Boston	Diocesan House, 1 Joy Street	Rev. Ernest J. Dennen	Superintendent
Benevolent Fraternity of Unitarian Churches	50 Congress Street	(Henry R. Scott)	President
	CHICAGO		
Chicago Baptist Association	203 North Wabash Avenue	Rev. A. M. McDonald	Superintendent
Chicago Congregational Union	19 South La Salle Street	Rev. Ernest Graham Guthrie	General Director
		Rev. C. S. Laidman	Associate Director
Chicago Christian Missionary Society	Chicago Temple Building, 77 West Washington Street	Rev. Perry J. Rice	Executive Secretary
Chicago Home Missionary and Church Extension Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church	1716 Chicago Temple Building, 77 West Washington Street	Rev. John Thompson	Superintendent
Church Extension Board, Presbytery of Chicago	1320 Chicago Temple Building, 77 West Washington Street	Rev. Henry S. Brown	General Superintendent

TABLE I (*Continued*)

Name of Society	Address of Headquarters	Name of Executive	Title of Executive
	CLEVELAND		
Cleveland Baptist Association	1100 Schofield Building	Rev. D. R. Sharpe	Executive Secretary
Congregational Union of Cleveland	1006 Hippodrome Building	Rev. O. L. Kiplinger	Executive Secretary
Cleveland Disciples Union	105th & Helena Streets	Rev. F. D. Butchart	Executive Secretary
Methodist Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Cleveland	Arcade Building	Rev. W. W. Dieterich	District Superintendent
Presbyterian Union of Cleveland	Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers Building	Rev. Louis Ruf	Superintendent
	DETROIT		
Detroit Baptist Union	5 West Larned Street	Rev. H. C. Gleiss	General Superintendent
Congregational Association of Detroit	First Congregational Church	Rev. A. M. Meikle	Superintendent
Methodist Union of Greater Detroit	309 Wesley Building, 2847 Grand River Avenue	Rev. Edgar J. Warren	Executive Secretary
Presbyterian Board of Church Extension of Detroit	1109 Kresge Building	Rev. M. C. Pearson	Executive Secretary
Executive Council of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Michigan	63 East Hancock Avenue	Charles O. Ford	Executive Secretary
	LOS ANGELES		
Los Angeles Baptist City Mission Society	313 West Third Street	Rev. J. B. Fox	Executive Secretary
Congregational Church Extension Society of Los Angeles	611 American Bank Building 129 West Second Street	Rev. Edwin D. Gaylord	Superintendent

Los Angeles Missionary and Church Extension Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church	447 Chamber of Commerce Building	Rev. J. Lewis Gillies	District Superintendent
Church Extension Board of the Los Angeles Presbytery	800 American Bank Building 129 West Second Street	Rev. Guy W. Wadsworth	Executive Secretary
	PITTSBURGH		
Pittsburgh Baptist Association	Benedum-Trees Building 223 Fourth Avenue	Rev. Lester W. Bumpus	Executive Secretary
Methodist Episcopal Church Union of Pittsburgh	Smithfield Street and Seventh Avenue	Rev. Sanford W. Corcoran	Superintendent
Committee on Presbyterial Missions of the Presbytery of Pittsburgh	Commonwealth Trust Building	Rev. P. W. Snyder	Superintendent
Home Mission Committee of Allegheny and Monongahela Presbyteries (United Presbyterian)	Beverly Heights United Presbyterian Church	Rev. R. W. Gibson	Executive Secretary
	SAN FRANCISCO		
San Francisco Bay Cities Baptist Union	228 McAllister Street	Rev. W. Earle Smith	Executive Secretary
Bay Association of Congregational Churches	1164 Phelan Building	Rev. Harley H. Gill	Superintendent
San Francisco and San Mateo Counties Church Extension Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church	3 City Hall Avenue	Rev. H. H. Frost	District Superintendent
Church Extension Board of San Francisco Presbytery	228 McAllister Street	Rev. W. Clyde Smith	Executive Secretary
	WASHINGTON		
Columbia Association of Baptist Churches	715 Eighth Street, N.W.	Rev. Henry W. D. Millington	Executive Secretary

TABLE II.—CITY SOCIETIES STUDIED, BY YEAR OF ORGANIZATION

Year of Organization	Name of Society	Year of Reorganization
1816	City Missionary Society, Boston, (Cong.)	1841
1829	Episcopal City Mission and Archdeaconry of Boston	1888
1836	Benevolent Fraternity of Unitarian Churches (Boston)	
1867	Boston Missionary and Church Extension Society of the M. E. Church	1879
1869	Cleveland Baptist Association	
1869	Presbyterian Union of Cleveland	
1872	Chicago Baptist Association	
1878	Detroit Baptist Union	1903
1880	Methodist Episcopal Church Union of Pittsburgh	
1882	Chicago Congregational Union	
1884	Congregational Association of Detroit	
1884	San Francisco and San Mateo Counties Church Extension Society of the M. E. Church	
1885	Chicago Home Missionary and Church Extension Society of the M. E. Church	
1886	Methodist Union of the M. E. Church of Cleveland	
1887	Chicago Christian Missionary Society	
1892	Congregational Union of Cleveland	
1892	Pittsburgh Baptist Association	
1899	Boston Baptist Bethel City Mission Society	
1904	Los Angeles Missionary and Church Extension Society of the M. E. Church	
1906	Los Angeles Baptist City Mission Society	
1906	Committee on Presbyterial Missions of the Presbytery of Pittsburgh	
1907	Church Extension Board, Presbytery of Chicago	
1909	Presbyterian Board of Church Extension of Detroit	
1910	Methodist Union of Greater Detroit	
1912	Congregational Church Extension Society of Los Angeles	
1913	Church Extension Board of the Los Angeles Presbytery	
1916	Church Extension Board of San Francisco Presbytery	
1919	Columbia Association of Baptist Churches (Washington)	
1920	Executive Council of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Michigan (Detroit)	
1920	San Francisco Bay Cities Baptist Union	
1921	Bay Association of Congregational Churches (San Francisco)	
1927	Home Mission Committee of Allegheny and Monongahela Presbyteries, Pittsburgh (United Presbyterian)	

TABLE III.—DISTRIBUTION AND CLASSIFICATION OF TOTAL PROJECTS AIDED IN RECENT YEARS, BY SOCIETIES, CITIES AND DENOMINATIONS

	BOSTON					CHICAGO						CLEVELAND					
	Baptist	M. E.	P. E.	Unitarian	Total	Baptist	Cong.	Disciples	M. E.	Presby.	Total	Baptist	Cong.	Disciples	M. E.	Presby.	Total
Total Number Projects	21	43	23	5	92	57	101	8	179	91	436	40	24	4	19	41	128
Church Extension in New Fields	1	9	2	0	12	10	3	4	14	21	52	7	5	0	3	10	25
Assistance to Churches	2	20	11	2	35	23	55	0	90	25	194	7	11	2	11	22	53
Regular Churches	2	19	6	2	29	8	50	0	63	16	137	4	9	2	8	13	36
Dying Churches	0	1	3	0	4	1	1	0	3	1	6	0	0	0	0	4	4
Emergency Assistance	0	0	2	0	2	15	4	0	24	8	51	3	2	0	3	5	13
Rehabilitation and Adjustment	16	14	7	1	38	19	36	3	74	33	165	25	8	2	5	8	48
Community Adjustment	3	0	1	1	5	0	11	1	6	6	24	0	1	1	2	2	6
Racial Groups—																	
Simple Churches	10	8	4	0	22	17	14	2	62	18	113	14	4	1	0	4	23
Community Adjustment	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	2	1	6	6	1	0	1	0	8
New Start	3	2	0	0	5	1	3	0	1	6	11	5	0	0	2	2	9
Special Projects in Self-supporting Churches	0	4	2	0	6	1	5	0	3	2	11	0	2	0	0	0	2
Institutions for Special Work	2	0	3	2	7	4	7	1	1	12	25	1	0	0	0	1	2

TABLE III (*Continued*)

	DETROIT						LOS ANGELES					PITTSBURGH				
	Baptist	Cong.	M. E.	Presby.	P. E.	Total	Baptist	Cong.	M. E.	Presby.	Total	Baptist	M. E.	Presby.	U. P.	Total
Total Number Projects	48	17	42	54	70	231	50	15	35	79	179	39	31	71	18	159
Church Extension in New Fields	19	5	24	24	9	81	20	2	6	21	49	3	2	4	9	18
Assistance to Churches	3	8	4	22	52	89	10	8	24	30	72	22	10	34	6	72
Regular Churches	1	4	2	12	47	66	6	6	11	20	43	14	6	21	5	46
Dying Churches	1	1	0	4	5	11	3	0	8	5	16	6	1	5	1	13
Emergency Assistance	1	3	2	6	0	12	1	2	5	5	13	2	3	8	0	13
Rehabilitation and Adjustment	24	4	14	5	5	52	19	5	5	24	53	14	13	33	3	63
Community Adjustment	0	0	4	0	0	4	1	1	3	3	8	0	3	15	0	18
Racial Groups—																
Simple Churches	15	2	3	3	4	27	12	3	0	14	29	11	6	9	3	29
Community Adjustment	4	1	4	1	1	10	4	1	0	2	7	1	1	5	0	7
New Start	5	1	3	1	0	11	2	0	1	5	8	0	1	1	0	2
Special Projects in Self-supporting Churches	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	2	3	0	7
Institutions for Special Work	2	0	0	3	4	9	1	0	0	4	5	0	6	0	0	6

TABLE III (*Continued*)

	SAN FRANCISCO						WASHINGTON			TOTALS BY DENOMINATIONS							
	Baptist	Cong.	M. E.	Presby.	P. E.	Total	Baptist	Total	Grand Total	Baptist	Cong.	Disciples	M. E.	Presby.	P. E.	U. P.	Unitarian
Total Number Projects	36	21	16	64	30	167	12	12	1404	303	178	12	365	400	123	18	5
Church Extension in New Fields	7	4	4	8	5	28	7	7	272	74	19	4	62	88	16	9	0
Assistance to Churches	11	10	8	35	17	81	5	5	601	84	92	1	167	168	80	6	2
Regular Churches	8	6	8	24	8	54	4	4	415	47	75	2	117	106	61	5	2
Dying Churches	0	4	0	3	5	12	0	0	66	11	6	0	13	22	13	1	0
Emergency Assistance	3	0	0	8	4	15	1	1	120	26	11	0	37	40	6	0	0
Rehabilitation and Adjustment	13	6	4	18	7	37	0	0	467	130	59	5	129	121	19	3	1
Community Adjustment	1	1	2	7	1	12	0	0	77	5	14	2	20	33	2	0	1
Racial Groups—																	
Simple Churches	11	3	2	5	4	25	0	0	268	90	26	3	81	53	12	3	0
Community Adjustment	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	38	15	6	0	8	9	0	0	0
New Start	0	2	0	1	2	5	0	0	51	16	6	0	10	16	3	0	0
Special Projects in Self-supporting Churches	1	0	0	5	0	6	0	0	33	4	7	0	10	10	2	0	0
Institutions for Special Work	5	1	0	3	1	10	0	0	64	15	8	1	7	23	8	0	2

TABLE IV.—DISTRIBUTION AND CLASSIFICATION OF PROJECTS AIDED 1932–33, BY SOCIETIES, CITIES AND DENOMINATIONS

	BOSTON					CHICAGO						CLEVELAND					
	Baptist	M. E.	P. E.	Unitarian	Total	Baptist	Cong.	Disciples	M. E.	Presby.	Total	Baptist	Cong.	Disciples	M. E.	Presby.	Total
Total Number Projects	16	20	14	5	55	13	56	3	57	35	164	19	10	4	8	21	62
Church Extension in New Fields	1	2	2	0	5	4	2	2	2	9	19	3	4	0	1	7	15
Assistance to Churches	1	9	9	2	21	0	25	0	13	2	40	4	2	2	3	6	17
Regular Churches	1	8	5	2	16	0	22	0	13	1	36	2	2	2	3	5	14
Dying Churches	0	1	3	0	4	0	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	1
Emergency Assistance	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	2
Rehabilitation and Adjustment	12	9	2	1	24	6	23	1	41	14	85	11	4	2	4	7	28
Community Adjustment	3	0	1	1	5	0	7	0	5	5	17	0	1	1	2	2	6
Racial Groups—																	
Simple Churches	7	8	1	0	16	6	6	1	34	8	55	5	2	1	0	3	11
Community Adjustment	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	1	4	5	1	0	1	0	7
New Start	2	1	0	0	3	0	2	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	1	2	4
Special Projects in Self-supporting Churches	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	2	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0
Institutions for Special Work	2	0	1	2	5	3	6	0	1	10	20	1	0	0	0	1	2

TABLE IV (*Continued*)

	DETROIT						LOS ANGELES					PITTSBURGH				
	Baptist	Cong.	M. E.	Presby.	P. E.	Total	Baptist	Cong.	M. E.	Presby.	Total	Baptist	M. E.	Presby.	U. P.	Total
Total Number Projects	15	7	28	28	47	125	41	11	12	42	106	11	20	48	18	97
Church Extension in New Fields	5	3	14	15	8	45	15	1	2	9	27	0	0	2	9	11
Assistance to Churches	1	1	3	7	32	44	8	6	9	12	35	4	6	19	6	35
Regular Churches	1	1	1	7	32	42	6	4	9	12	31	2	5	15	5	27
Dying Churches	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	3	1	5
Emergency Assistance	0	0	2	0	0	2	1	2	0	0	3	1	1	1	0	3
Rehabilitation and Adjustment	7	3	11	3	4	28	17	4	1	17	39	7	9	27	3	46
Community Adjustment	0	0	4	0	0	4	1	1	1	2	5	0	3	15	0	18
Racial Groups—																
Simple Churches	7	2	3	1	3	16	12	2	0	14	28	7	4	7	3	21
Community Adjustment	0	1	4	1	0	6	4	1	0	1	6	0	1	3	0	4
New Start	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2
Special Projects in Self-supporting Churches	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Institutions for Special Work	2	0	0	3	3	8	1	0	0	4	5	0	5	0	0	5

TABLE IV (*Continued*)

	SAN FRANCISCO						WASHINGTON				TOTALS BY DENOMINATIONS							
	Baptist	Cong.	M. E.	Presby.	P. E.	Total	Baptist	Total	Grand Total	Per Cent. of Total Projects	Baptist	Cong.	Disciples	M. E.	Presby.	P. E.	U. P.	Unitarian
Total Number Projects	26	12	4	32	16	90	12	12	711	51	153	96	7	149	206	77	18	5
Church Extension in New Fields	5	4	1	6	2	18	7	7	147	54	40	14	2	22	48	12	9	0
Assistance to Churches	9	2	1	14	7	33	5	5	230	38	32	36	2	44	60	48	6	2
Regular Churches	8	2	1	13	6	30	4	4	200	48	24	31	2	40	53	43	5	2
Dying Churches	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	14	21	2	1	0	1	5	4	1	0
Emergency Assistance	1	0	0	1	0	2	1	1	16	13	6	4	0	3	2	1	0	0
Rehabilitation and Adjustment	7	5	2	9	7	30	0	0	280	60	67	39	3	77	77	13	3	1
Community Adjustment	1	1	1	5	1	9	0	0	64	83	5	10	1	16	29	2	0	1
Racial Groups—																		
Simple Churches	6	3	1	4	4	18	0	0	165	62	50	15	2	50	37	8	3	0
Community Adjustment	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	27	71	9	6	0	6	6	0	0	0
New Start	0	1	0	0	2	3	0	0	16	31	3	3	0	3	4	3	0	0
Special Projects in Self-supporting Churches	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	24	0	5	0	2	1	0	0	0
Institutions for Special Work	5	1	0	3	0	9	0	0	54	85	14	7	0	6	21	4	0	2

TABLE V.—DISTRIBUTION AND EXPLANATION OF PROJECTS FOR WHICH AID HAS BEEN DISCONTINUED, BY SOCIETIES, CITIES AND DENOMINATIONS

	BOSTON					CHICAGO						CLEVELAND					
	Baptist	M. E.	P. E.	Unitarian	Total	Baptist	Cong.	Disciples	M. E.	Presby.	Total	Baptist	Cong.	Disciples	M. E.	Presby.	Total
Total Number Projects	5	23	9	0	37	44	45	5	122	56	272	21	14	0	11	20	66
Work Suspended	4	0	3	0	7	10	13	2	91	8	124	4	2	0	5	1	12
Merged with Church or Another Project	0	0	0	0	0	2	13	0	2	7	24	7	2	0	1	3	13
Transferred to Another Denomination	0	0	0	0	0	3*	4	0	0	3	10	0	0	0	0	1	1
Other Outside Support	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Circumstances in Church	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Self-support Assumed	1	23	6	0	30	29	15	3	29	38	114	10	9	0	5	15	39

* One became interdenominational community church.

TABLE V (*Continued*)

	DETROIT					LOS ANGELES				PITTSBURGH						
	Baptist	Cong.	M. E.	Presby.	P. E.	Total	Baptist	Cong.	M. E.	Presby.	Total	Baptist	M. E.	Presby.	U. P.	Total
Total Number Projects	33	10	14	26	23	106	9	4	23	37	73	28	11	23	0	62
Work Suspended	1	1	0	2	4	8	0	0	0	1	1	4	4	8	0	16
Merged with Church or Another Project																
Transferred to Another Denomination	3	0	4	2	5	14	0	1	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	3
Other Outside Support	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	0
Circumstances in Church	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Self-support Assumed	5	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
	22	8	10	21	14	75	9	3	23	33	68	20	7	15	0	42

TABLE V (*Continued*)

	SAN FRANCISCO						WASHINGTON			TOTALS BY DENOMINATIONS							
	Baptist	Cong.	M. E.	Presby.	P. E.	Total	Baptist	Total	Grand Total	Baptist	Cong.	Disciples	M. E.	Presby.	P. E.	U. P.	Unitarian
Total Number Projects	10	9	12	32	14	77	0	0	693	150	82	5	216	194	46	0	0
Work Suspended	0	0	3	0	4	7	0	0	175	23	16	2	103	20	11	0	0
Merged with Church or Another Project	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	57	15	16	0	9	12	5	0	0
Transferred to Another Denomination	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	3	5	0	0	8	0	0	0
Other Outside Support	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	4	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
Circumstances in Church	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Self-support Assumed	10	9	7	32	9	67	0	0	435	101	44	3	104	154	29	0	0

TABLE VI.—PER CENT. DISTRIBUTION AND CLASSIFICATION OF TOTAL PROJECTS AND PROJECTS AIDED 1932–33, BY CITIES AND DENOMINATIONS

Cities and Denominations	No. of Societies	Av. No. Projects per Society	TOTAL PROJECTS: New Fields Average per Society	New Fields Per Cent. of Projects	Assistance to Churches Average per Society	Assistance to Churches Per Cent. of Projects	Rehabilitation and Adjustment Average per Society	Rehabilitation and Adjustment Per Cent. of Projects	Institutions Average per Society	Institutions Per Cent. of Projects
Washington	1	12	7	58	5	42	0	0	0	0
Boston	4	23	3	13	9	38	9	41	2	8
Cleveland	5	26	5	20	11	41	10	37	0	2
San Francisco	5	33	6	17	16	48	9	29	2	6
Pittsburgh	4	40	5	11	18	45	16	40	1	4
Los Angeles	4	45	12	27	18	40	14	30	1	3
Detroit	5	46	16	35	17	38	11	23	2	4
Chicago	5	87	10	12	39	44	33	38	5	6
All Societies	33	43	8	19	19	43	14	33	2	5
Unitarian	1	5	0	0	2	40	1	20	2	40
Disciples	2	6	2	33	1	17	2	42	1	8
United Presby	1	18	9	50	6	33	3	17	0	0
Congregational	5	34	4	11	18	51	11	33	2	5
Baptist	8	38	9	24	10	28	17	43	2	5
Prot. Episcopal	3	41	5	13	26	64	7	16	3	7
Meth. Episcopal	7	52	9	17	24	46	18	35	1	2
Presbyterian	6	67	14	22	28	42	21	30	4	6

TABLE VI (*Continued*)

Cities and Denominations	PROJECTS AIDED 1932–33									
	Projects Still Supported		New Fields		Assistance to Churches		Rehabilitation and Adjustment		Institutions	
	Average per Society	Per Cent. of Projects	Average per Society	Per Cent. of Projects	Average per Society	Per Cent. of Projects	Average per Society	Per Cent. of Projects	Average per Society	Per Cent. of Projects
Washington	12	100	7	58	5	42	0	0	0	0
Boston	14	60	1	9	5	38	6	44	1	9
Cleveland	12	48	3	24	3	28	6	45	2	3
San Francisco	18	54	4	20	7	37	6	3	2	10
Pittsburgh	24	61	3	12	6	36	11	48	2	5
Los Angeles	26	59	7	25	9	33	10	37	1	5
Detroit	25	54	9	36	9	35	6	22	2	7
Chicago	33	38	4	12	8	24	17	52	4	12
All Societies	22	51	4	21	7	32	8	39	2	8
Unitarian	5	100	0	0	2	40	1	20	2	40
Disciples	4	58	1	29	1	29	1	42	0	0
United Presby	18	100	9	50	6	33	3	17	0	0
Congregational	19	54	3	15	7	38	8	40	1	7
Baptist	19	50	5	26	4	21	8	44	2	9
Prot. Episcopal	26	63	4	16	16	62	4	17	1	5
Meth. Episcopal	21	41	3	15	6	29	11	52	3	4
Presbyterian	34	52	8	24	10	29	13	37	3	10

TABLE VII.—PER CENT. DISTRIBUTION AND EXPLANATION OF PROJECTS FOR WHICH AID HAS BEEN DISCONTINUED, BY CITIES AND DENOMINATIONS

Denominations	No. of Societies	Av. No. Projects per Society	Per Cent. of Total Projects	Work Suspended Av. per Soc.	Work Suspended % of Proj.	Merged with Church or Other Project Av. per Soc.	Merged with Church or Other Project % of Proj.	Transferred to Another Denomination Av. per Soc.	Transferred to Another Denomination % of Proj.	Other Outside Support Av. per Soc.	Other Outside Support % of Proj.	Circumstances in Church Av. per Soc.	Circumstances in Church % of Proj.	Self-support Assumed Av. per Soc.	Self-support Assumed % of Proj.
Washington	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Boston	4	9	40	2	19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	81
Cleveland	5	13	52	2	18	3	19	*	2	*	2	0	0	8	59
San Francisco	5	15	46	1	9	1	3	0	0	*	1	0	0	13	87
Pittsburgh	4	15	39	4	26	1	5	0	0	0	0	*	1	10	68
Los Angeles	4	18	41	*	1	*	1	1	5	0	0	0	0	17	93
Detroit	5	21	46	2	7	3	13	*	2	*	2	1	5	15	71
Chicago	5	55	62	25	45	5	9	2	4	0	0	0	0	23	42
All Societies	33	21	49	5	25	2	8	1	2	*	1	*	1	13	63
Unitarian	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Disciples	2	3	42	1	40	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	60
United Presbyterian	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Congregational	5	16	46	3	20	3	20	1	6	*	1	0	0	9	53
Baptist	8	19	50	3	15	2	10	*	2	*	1	1	4	13	68
Protestant Episcopal	3	16	37	4	24	2	11	0	0	*	2	0	0	10	63
Methodist Episcopal	7	31	59	15	48	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	48
Presbyterian	6	32	48	3	10	2	6	1	4	0	0	0	0	26	80

* Figures not given because they were considerably below 1.

TABLE VIII.—SERVICE TO CHURCHES,
(1871 Churches

SERVICE TO AIDED CHURCHES (1019)						SERVICE TO UNAIDED CHURCHES (852)					
Rank	Number of Churches Served	Per Cent. of Churches Served	Per Cent. of Churches Aided Served	Per Cent. of Services to Aided Churches	Item of Service	Rank	Number of Churches Served	Per Cent. of Churches Served	Per Cent. of Churches Unaided Served	Per Cent. of Services to Unaided Churches	Item of Service
1....	1,019	54.4	100.0	10.6	1	1...	691	36.9	84.1	12.9	15
2....	797	42.6	78.2	8.3	15	2...	627	33.5	76.3	11.8	9
3....	759	40.5	74.4	7.9	9	3...	548	29.3	66.7	10.3	16
4....	756	40.4	74.2	7.8	14	4...	545	29.1	66.3	10.2	14
5....	732	39.1	71.8	7.6	8	5...	517	27.6	62.9	9.7	10
6....	700	37.4	68.6	7.3	6	6...	457	24.4	55.6	8.6	8
7....	694	37.1	68.1	7.2	16	7...	353	18.9	42.9	6.6	17
8....	692	37.0	67.9	7.2	10	8...	342	18.2	41.6	6.4	6
9....	535	28.6	52.5	5.6	2	9...	293	15.7	35.6	5.5	11
10....	441	23.5	43.2	4.6	5	10...	173	9.2	21.0	3.2	7
11....	420	22.4	41.2	4.4	11	11...	149	7.9	18.1	2.8	20
12....	365	19.5	35.8	3.8	7	12...	129	6.8	15.7	2.4	2
13....	362	19.3	35.5	3.7	17	13...	110	5.9	13.4	2.1	4
14....	253	13.5	24.8	2.6	3	14...	97	5.2	11.8	1.8	12
15....	233	12.4	22.8	2.4	12	15...	90	4.8	10.9	1.7	5
16....	229	12.2	22.4	2.4	4	16...	73	3.9	8.8	1.4	19
17....	194	10.3	19.0	2.0	19	17...	63	3.3	7.7	1.2	3
18....	193	10.3	18.9	2.0	20	18...	45	2.4	5.5	0.8	13
19....	144	7.7	14.1	1.5	13	19...	30	1.6	3.6	0.6	18
20....	112	6.0	11.0	1.1	18	20...					
Total Survey	9,620	64.3	100.0	100.0	all		5,332	35.7	100.0	100.0	all

CLASSIFICATION AND DISTRIBUTION
in 22 Societies)

SERVICE TO ALL CHURCHES (1871)

Rank	Number of Churches Served	Per Cent. of Churches Served	Per Cent. of Services to Aided Churches	Item of Service	Items of service in order of frequence of occurrence
1....	1,488	79.5	9.9	15	Speaking on special occasions
2....	1,386	74.0	9.3	9	Conferring with individuals on church problems
3....	1,301	69.5	8.7	14	Emergency pulpit supply
4....	1,242	66.4	8.3	16	Providing outside speakers and programs
5....	1,209	64.6	8.1	10	Consulting regarding new pastor
6....	1,189	63.5	7.9	8	Meeting with church boards on problems
7....	1,042	55.6	7.0	6	Assisting every member canvass and financial campaigns
8....	1,019	54.4	6.8	1	Regular aid
9....	715	38.2	4.8	17	Receiving and distributing benevolence
10....	713	38.1	4.8	11	Providing counsel of experts
11....	664	35.4	4.4	2	Grants or loans for new buildings, etc.
12....	538	28.7	3.6	7	Assistance in special financial campaigns
13....	531	28.3	3.5	5	General supervision
14....	342	18.2	2.3	20	Ordering supplies
15....	339	18.1	2.3	4	Establishing credit
16....	330	17.6	2.2	12	Conducting evangelistic services
17....	316	16.8	2.1	3	Applications for denominational building aid
18....	267	14.2	1.8	19	Mimeographing, etc.
19....	189	10.1	1.3	13	Acting as ad-interim pastor
20....	142	7.6	0.9	18	Acting as treasurer for special accounts
	14,952	100.0	100.0	all	

TABLE IX.—TOTAL INCOME AND DISBURSEMENTS, AVERAGE PER SOCIETY, AND PERCENTAGE INCREASE OR DECREASE

(1912, 1917, 1922, 1927, 1932)

Year	Number of Societies	Total Receipts	Average per Society	1912 as 100	Per Cent. Increase or Decrease
1912.....	19	$ 575,104	$ 30,269	100.0	..
1917.....	23	724,676	31,508	104.1	+ 4.09
1922.....	26	2,258,287	86,857	206.9	+175.66
1927.....	27	3,351,902	124,144	410.1	+ 42.92
1932.....	30	2,382,717	79,424	262.4	− 36.02

Year	Number of Societies	Total Disburse-ments	Average per Society	1912 as 100	Per Cent Increase or Decrease
1912.....	20	$ 560,155	$ 28,008	100.0	..
1917.....	23	722,505	31,457	112.3	+ 12.31
1922.....	26	2,001,245	76,971	274.8	+144.68
1927.....	27	2,896,059	107,261	383.0	+ 39.35
1932.....	30	2,319,166	77,306	276.0	− 27.92

TABLE X.—PER CENT. DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME, BY CITIES—FIVE SPECIFIED YEARS

	1912	1917	1922	1927	1932	1912	1917	1922	1927	1932
	TOTAL					BOSTON				
Denomination	7.4	12.6	19.5	11.5	13.0	15.4	16.6	56.6	39.5	26.0
Churches	47.5	45.2	49.6	40.4	37.2	14.0	13.1	6.1	11.5	13.1
Individuals	32.5	29.0	19.3	23.5	12.9	44.9	57.6	19.9	26.9	31.6
Invested Funds	6.0	13.1	6.6	21.3	27.2	7.4	12.2	14.4	13.8	27.0
Bequests	6.6	0.1	5.0	3.3	9.7	18.3	0.5	3.0	8.3	2.3

	1912	1917	1922	1927	1932	1912	1917	1922	1927	1932
	CHICAGO					CLEVELAND				
Denomination	4.3	13.7	9.5	0.8	11.3	3.0	7.3	6.4	11.4	4.9
Churches	45.0	25.7	30.6	14.8	25.8	29.8	38.0	60.4	53.6	51.8
Individuals	42.4	36.0	44.4	43.0	6.9	23.2	42.2	23.9	21.8	25.6
Invested Funds	8.3	24.6	13.9	41.4	55.3	3.0	12.5	9.3	10.3	17.7
Bequests	0	0	1.6	0	0.7	41.0	0	0	2.9	0

	1912	1917	1922	1927	1932	1912	1917	1922	1927	1932
	DETROIT					LOS ANGELES				
Denomination	2.4	7.7	2.7	7.5	5.5	13.5	17.0	17.0	10.5	7.6
Churches	90.5	82.8	95.7	77.2	57.0	51.8	64.7	50.2	46.8	34.5
Individuals	4.6	6.8	0.1	1.7	15.8	34.7	17.5	21.3	20.1	4.1
Invested Funds	2.5	2.7	1.5	12.2	21.7	0	0.8	1.0	10.3	18.0
Bequests	0	0	0	1.4	0	0	0	10.5	12.3	35.8

	1912	1917	1922	1927	1932	1912	1917	1922	1927	1932
	PITTSBURGH					SAN FRANCISCO				
Denomination	6.6	6.7	23.6	8.8	5.2	72.2	64.1	65.6	63.6	72.0
Churches	64.4	74.1	48.7	68.0	51.1	21.6	32.8	26.2	32.4	21.4
Individuals	23.2	15.2	11.4	10.2	11.0	0.3	3.1	8.2	4.0	5.8
Invested Funds	4.8	4.0	3.8	9.3	11.9	0	0	0	0	0.8
Bequests	1.0	0	12.5	3.7	20.8	5.9	0	0	0	0

TABLE XI.—PER CENT. DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME, BY DENOMINATIONS—FIVE SPECIFIED YEARS

	1912	1917	1922	1927	1932	1912	1917	1922	1927	1932
	BAPTIST					CONGREGATIONAL				
Denomination	17.0	19.1	24.0	20.2	18.8	1.8	2.7	2.4	0.7	0.6
Churches	46.7	58.4	64.8	40.5	33.9	76.0	40.0	48.4	20.0	18.3
Individuals	14.1	20.1	3.8	22.4	8.6	5.1	3.1	22.2	0.6	5.4
Invested Funds	1.1	2.4	2.8	10.2	15.7	17.1	54.2	27.0	76.5	74.4
Bequests	21.1	0	4.6	6.7	23.0	0	0	0	2.2	1.3

	1917	1922	1927	1932	1912	1917	1922	1927	1932
	DISCIPLES				METHODIST EPISCOPAL				
Denomination	54.3	69.3	4.0	4.6	17.3	34.4	44.5	28.4	30.3
Churches	42.6	24.6	50.2	85.9	44.6	48.2	23.8	36.7	26.6
Individuals	3.1	6.1	30.6	9.5	19.5	12.4	14.4	12.7	14.2
Invested Funds	0	0	15.2	0	6.2	4.7	7.7	13.7	9.9
Bequests	0	0	0	0	12.4	0.3	9.6	8.5	19.0

	1912	1917	1922	1927	1932	1912	1917	1922	1927	1932
	PRESBYTERIAN					PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL				
Denomination	0	2.9	2.1	3.4	7.3	3.4	4.4	5.4	8.3	6.8
Churches	43.5	45.7	51.0	45.4	63.3	29.4	27.7	71.3	61.5	33.8
Individuals	53.6	47.4	40.6	44.5	13.0	57.1	54.3	11.9	18.3	29.5
Invested Funds	2.6	4.0	2.1	6.7	15.2	10.1	13.6	9.5	11.9	29.9
Bequests	0.3	0	4.2	0	1.2	0	0	1.9	0	0

Note: Total same as for Table X.

TABLE XII.—PER CENT. DISTRIBUTION OF EXPENDITURES, BY CITIES—FIVE SPECIFIED YEARS

	1912	1917	1922	1927	1932	1912	1917	1922	1927	1932
	TOTAL					BOSTON				
Admin. & Overhead..	13.2	14.0	14.6	15.8	24.5	10.4	8.5	11.3	13.3	18.8
Home Mission Aid...	50.4	50.5	50.1	41.3	52.8	73.1	89.6	71.9	66.6	76.5
Bldg. Gr. & Loan....	24.6	25.4	20.5	21.8	12.6	0	0	0	6.6	0
Loans & Mtge. Pd....	6.1	5.3	5.0	15.5	6.5	9.2	0	1.9	7.2	0.1
To Capital.....	5.5	4.0	8.6	5.2	2.8	6.7	0	12.3	3.4	0
Miscellaneous.....	0.2	0.8	1.2	0.4	0.8	0.6	1.9	2.6	2.9	4.6

	1912	1917	1922	1927	1932	1912	1917	1922	1927	1932
	CHICAGO					CLEVELAND				
Admin. & Overhead..	19.3	17.2	20.5	23.7	25.3	8.1	14.3	19.0	23.6	29.4
Home Mission Aid...	50.5	54.2	57.3	42.4	53.4	20.1	24.2	38.1	47.2	56.4
Bldg. Gr. & Loan....	18.2	18.7	7.1	19.5	10.9	68.3	44.4	24.8	17.3	8.3
Loans & Mtge. Pd....	2.7	7.2	4.0	3.8	7.2	2.5	10.8	7.1	6.6	5.0
To Capital.....	9.3	2.1	8.5	10.5	2.9	1.0	6.3	10.8	5.3	0.9
Miscellaneous.....	0	0.6	2.6	0.1	0.3	0	0	0.2	0	0

	1912	1917	1922	1927	1932	1912	1917	1922	1927	1932
	DETROIT					LOS ANGELES				
Admin. & Overhead..	1.2	6.2	11.8	10.4	39.7	7.2	14.2	13.2	16.1	19.4
Home Mission Aid...	51.9	32.2	31.2	26.0	41.2	42.0	39.6	33.9	35.6	31.2
Bldg. Gr. & Loan....	35.1	50.9	48.2	27.8	8.3	42.5	31.4	31.3	39.4	31.5
Loans & Mtge. Pd....	11.6	2.3	7.8	35.2	9.9	8.3	13.1	9.0	6.8	11.5
To Capital.....	0	8.3	0.9	0.4	0.3	0	0	9.9	1.6	6.3
Miscellaneous.....	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.6	0	1.7	2.7	0.5	0.1

	1912	1917	1922	1927	1932	1912	1917	1922	1927	1932
	PITTSBURGH					SAN FRANCISCO				
Admin. & Overhead..	12.8	18.0	11.1	12.8	16.2	4.7	4.5	21.8	19.3	18.5
Home Mission Aid...	53.0	48.7	68.7	57.8	67.8	39.7	77.2	45.8	64.7	53.9
Bldg. Gr. & Loan....	24.3	23.0	2.7	13.1	13.8	0	0	26.9	7.9	4.7
Loans & Mtge. Pd....	7.2	3.3	1.8	3.4	1.6	31.7	15.7	2.0	6.6	7.2
To Capital.....	2.2	5.6	15.3	12.8	0.5	23.9	2.6	2.3	1.0	15.5
Miscellaneous.....	0.5	1.3	0.4	0.1	0.1	0	0	1.2	0.5	0.2

TABLE XIII.—PER CENT. DISTRIBUTION OF EXPENDITURES, BY DENOMINATIONS—FIVE SPECIFIED YEARS

	1912	1917	1922	1927	1932	1912	1917	1922	1927	1932
	BAPTIST					CONGREGATIONAL				
Admin. & Overhead..	9.3	11.2	10.9	12.0	30.5	19.1	20.3	41.6	39.3	26.5
Home Mission Aid...	32.7	32.0	30.0	30.0	34.9	59.9	33.0	49.0	54.4	54.7
Bldg. Gr. & Loan....	40.9	48.6	39.1	31.1	15.6	6.6	20.2	2.4	2.6	6.2
Loans & Mtge. Pd....	6.3	5.6	7.7	17.8	10.5	5.2	17.1	1.9	2.4	10.0
To Capital.....	10.8	2.5	12.2	8.8	7.3	9.2	8.9	4.0	1.2	2.5
Miscellaneous.....	0	0.1	0.1	0.3	1.2	0	0.5	1.1	0.1	0.1

	1917	1922	1927	1932	1912	1917	1922	1927	1932
	DISCIPLES				METHODIST EPISCOPAL				
Admin. & Overhead..	49.5	29.9	56.1	48.6	15.9	17.4	10.3	16.0	18.0
Home Mission Aid...	50.5	70.1	25.6	25.9	63.3	60.2	70.1	48.4	57.8
Bldg. Gr. & Loan....	0	0	18.3	1.2	4.5	11.8	7.3	20.5	21.5
Loans & Mtge. Pd....	0	0	0	21.3	9.8	3.6	2.0	5.6	1.3
To Capital.....	0	0	0	3.0	6.5	6.4	8.7	8.9	0.5
Miscellaneous.....	0	0	0	0	0	0.6	1.6	0.6	0.9

	1912	1917	1922	1927	1932	1912	1917	1922	1927	1932
	PRESBYTERIAN					PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL				
Admin. & Overhead..	13.2	12.6	14.5	15.1	21.7	10.3	7.6	20.1	12.1	23.2
Home Mission Aid...	43.0	49.6	51.5	51.0	62.6	81.6	90.2	51.2	35.9	66.4
Bldg. Gr. & Loan....	39.4	2.7	19.1	26.2	9.8	0	0	16.4	8.2	5.9
Loans & Mtge. Pd....	3.3	4.0	7.8	5.4	5.0	7.2	0	0.7	42.5	2.3
To Capital.....	0.7	3.1	5.2	2.1	0.7	0	0	9.6	0.5	0.6
Miscellaneous.....	0.4	1.0	1.9	0.2	0.2	0.9	2.2	2.0	0.8	1.6

Note: Total same as for Table XII.

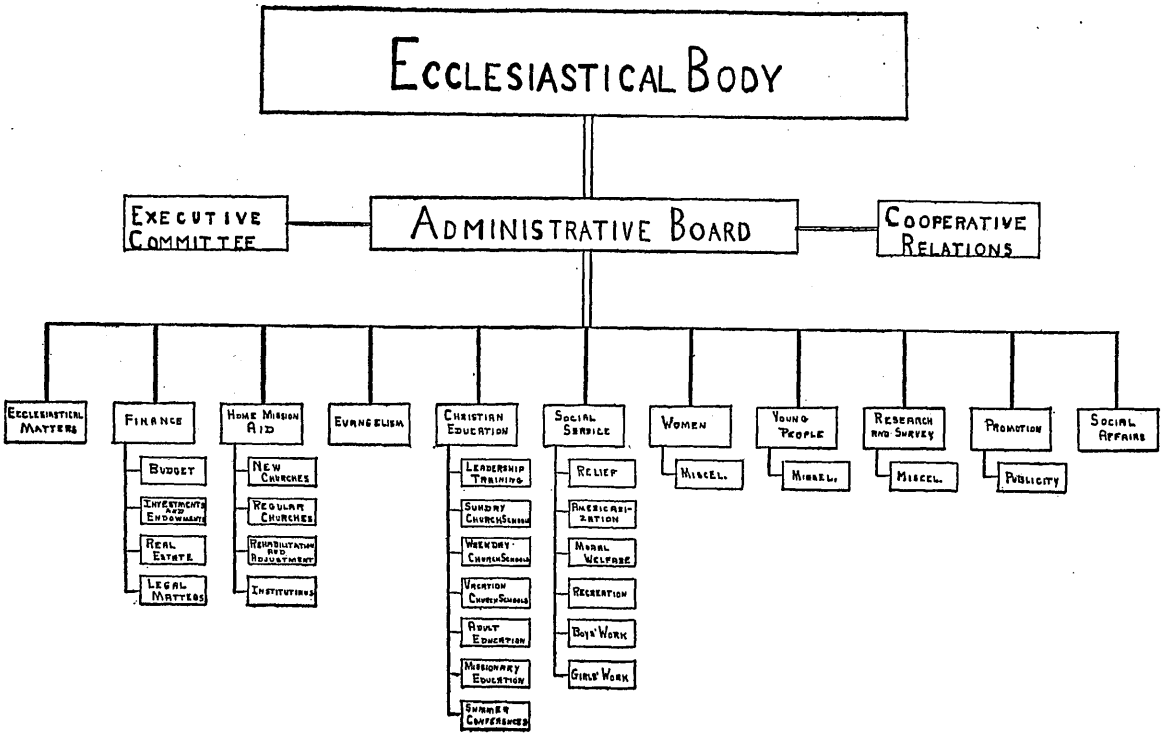


CHART I.—Idealized Departmental Organization

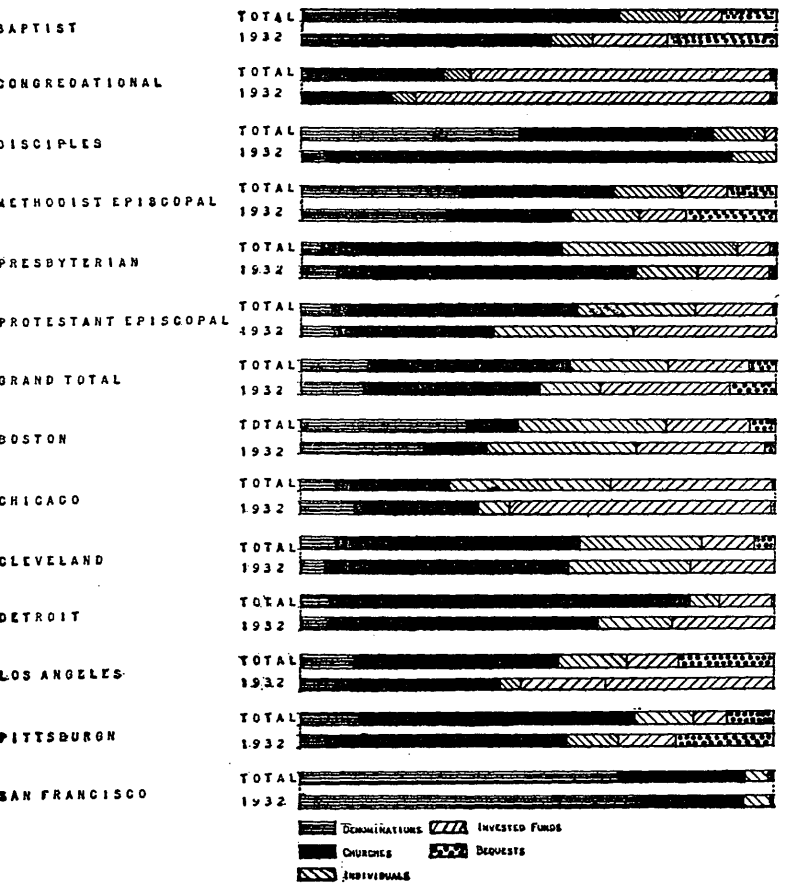


CHART II.—Comparison of Per Cent. Distribution of Income for 1932 with Average for 1912, 1917, 1922, 1927, 1932

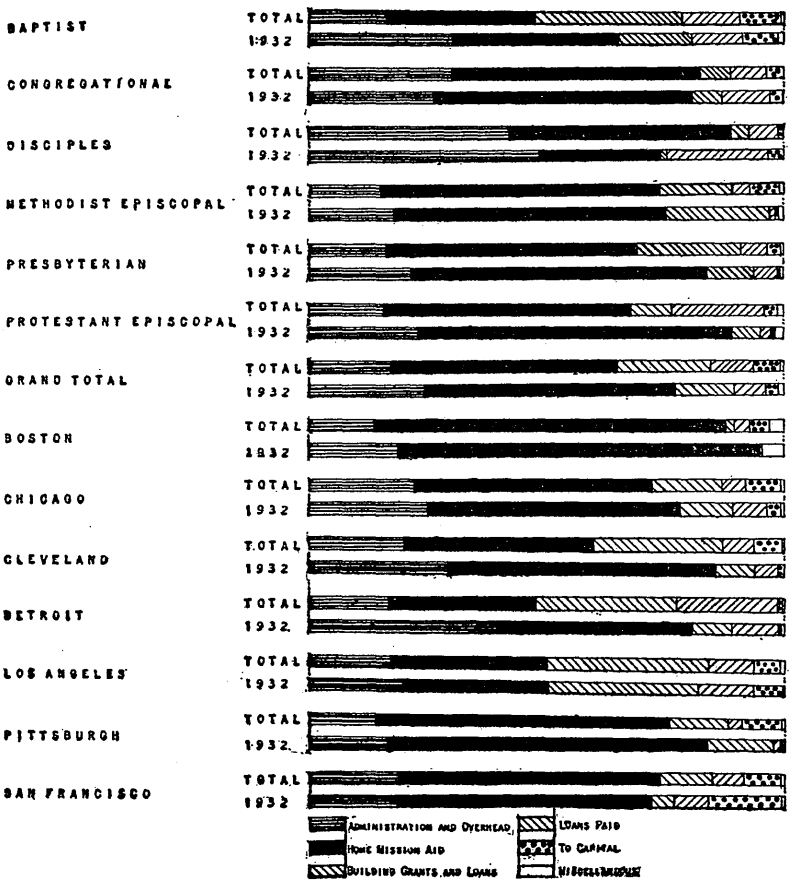


CHART III.—Comparison of Per Cent. Distribution of Expenditures for 1932 with Average for 1912, 1917, 1922, 1927, 1932

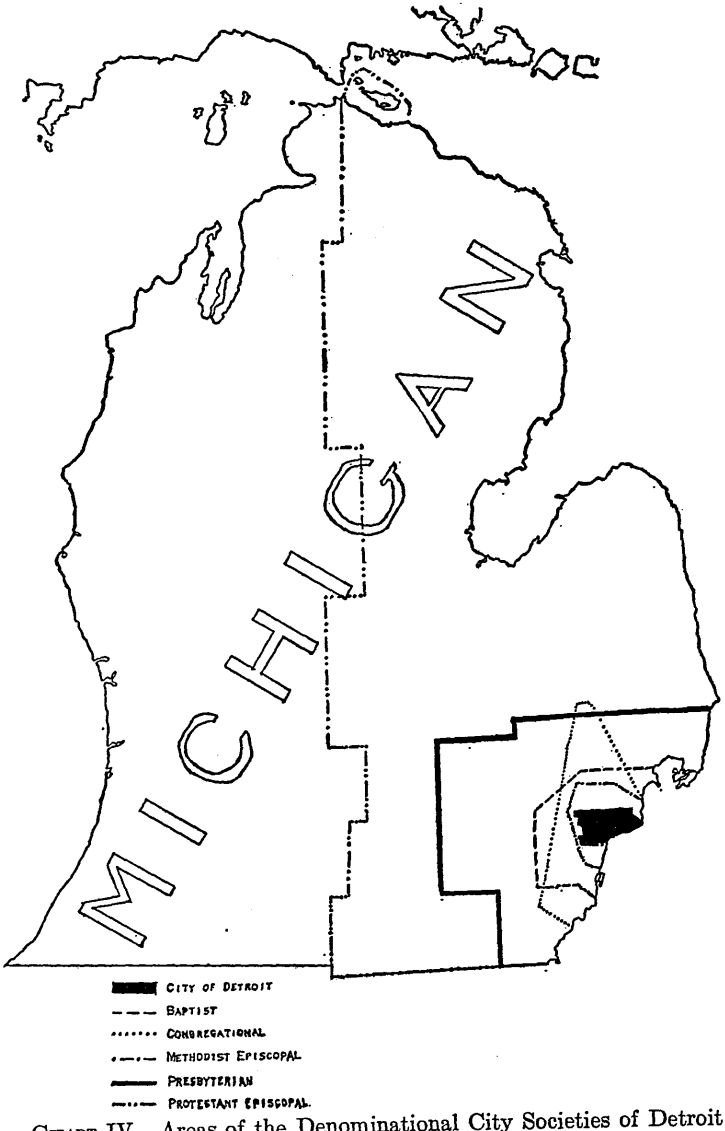


CHART IV.—Areas of the Denominational City Societies of Detroit

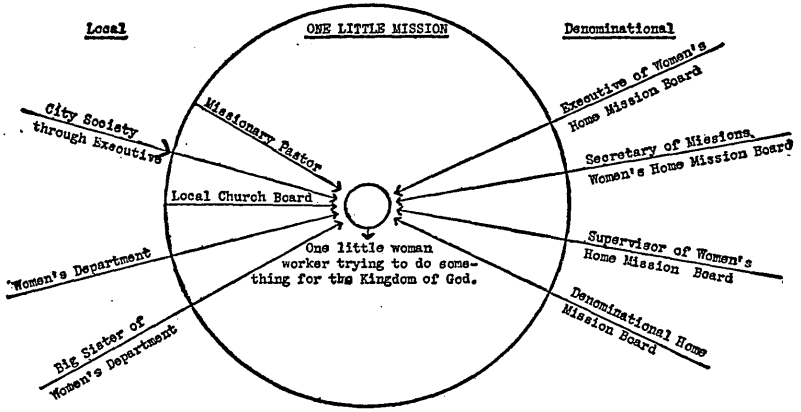


CHART V.—Supervision of One Little Mission

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